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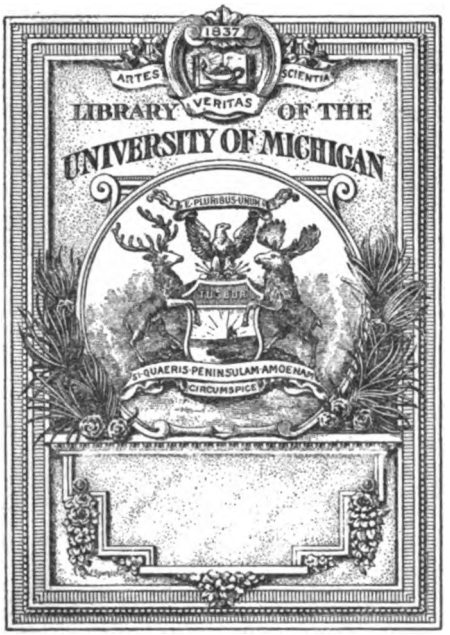

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Francis Thynne's Animadversions

upon

Speght's first (1598 A.D.) Edition of

Chaucers Workes.

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1693 J-

Chaucer.

ANIMADUERSIONS

vppon the Annotacions
and Corrections of some
imperfections of impressiones
of Chaucers workes (sett
downe before tyme, and
nowe) reprinted in the
yere of oure lorde
1598

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Lebis'd Edition by F. J. Furnivall, M.A., 1875,
with a Reprint of the only known Fragment of "The Pilgrim's Tale."

LONDON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY,
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MDCCCLXV.

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[*Arms of the Lord Chancellor Egerton blazond: and underneath them,*]

Magna quidem laus est generoso sanguine nasci,
Maior honestatis facta decusque segni,
Maxima nosse deum, fontem metamque bonorum,
Vti sorte, piè viuere, rite mori.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

DR G. H. KINGSLEY'S PREFACE: SHORT LIVES OF WILLIAM AND FRANCIS THYNNE, ETC. vii

MARK NOBLE'S ACCOUNT OF FRANCIS THYNNE xvii

MR FURNIVALL'S HINDWORDS (*CONTENTS*, p. xx) ... ... xx-cxliv

1. WILLIAM THYNNE: HIS LIFE, WORK, FOOD, WILL, ETC. ... xxi

2. FRANCIS THYNNE: HIS LIFE AND LETTERS, WITH EXTRACTS FROM HIS WRITINGS xlvii

LIST OF FRANCIS THYNNE'S WORKS cxviii

MR J. P. COLLIER'S ATTRIBUTION OF 4 SPURIOUS WORKS TO F. THYNNE cxxvii

EXTRACTS FROM THESE: 1. *THE DEBATE BETWEEN PRIDE AND LOWLINESS*, p. cxxviii; 2. *A PLEASAUNT DIALOGUE BETWEENE THE CAP AND THE HEAD*, 1564, p. cxxix; 3. *NEWES FROM THE NORTH*, 1579, p. cxxxi; 4. *THE CASE IS ALTERED*, 1604, p. cxxxvii.

CONTENTS OF F. THYNNE'S *ANIMADVERSIONS* cxlv

Francis Thynne's Animadversions on Speght's Edition of *CHAUCERS WORKES*, 1598 1-75

MR BRADSHAW'S DISPROOF OF THE EXISTENCE OF WM. THYNNE'S 1-COLUMND EDITION OF *CHAUCER* 75

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APPENDIXES:

PAGE

1. *THE PILGRIMS TALE* 77

2. THE LEGITIMATION OF JOHN OF GAUNT'S CHILDREN BY KATHERINE SWYNFORD 99

3. THE PROLOGUE TO THE SPURIOUS *PLOWMANS TALE* ... 101

4. FR. THYNNE'S "DYSCOURSE VPPON Y^{E} CRESTE OF THE LORDE BURGHLEYGHE" 103

5. PROPHECIES BY WELSHMEN 116

6. THOMAS CHAUCER'S COMPLAINT ON PARTING FROM HIS WIFE, WHEN HE WENT ON EMBASSY TO FRANCE 122

7. EXTRACT FROM DOUCE FRAGMENT OF *THE COURTE OF VENUS* 127

NOTES 128

INDEX 148

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NOTICE.

THIS new edition of Francis Thynne's *Animadversions* was intended for issue last year, soon after the *Hindwords* were written; but it was set aside to make room for other friends' work, and other engagements of my own. The delay has been lucky, as it has obtaind for the book some very valuable notes from Mr Bradshaw, and has enabl'd me to add some further details about Francis Thynne, as well as contest Mr J. P. Collier's attributions to him of four little books, which, in my opinion, he no more wrote than I did.

The reader must put-up with the inconvenience of finding the facts about William Thynne, the Chaucer-Editor, and his son Francis, the Chaucer-Commentator and Holinshed-Continuer, each in two different places. Dr George Kingsley's very pleasant Preface had earnd its right to a revisd reprint, and so the fresh details about the Thynnes and their work had to go in the *Hindwords*. No doubt more entries about William Thynne will appear in Professor Brewer's *Calendar of State Papers, &c. in Henry VIII's Reign* as it goes on. If they do, I hope to print these entries in a short Supplement as soon as the *Calendar* for 1546 is out. With not enough time for Chaucer and Shakspere searches at the Record Office, &c., I cannot pretend to undertake Thynne ones. The long quotations for and from the Thynnes in the *Hindwords* are deliberately given, instead of the facts containd in the extracts being packt into short paragraphs. I enjoy the old details,

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and like the flavour of William Thynne's meals and Francis's long-winded dedications and affected depreciations of his own work. Moreover, the latter are needed for the reader to judge between Mr Collier and me on the question of Francis Thynne's style. To men without taste or time for such things, skipping is easy

Inasmuch as this tract is a necessary part of a Chaucer Library, this new edition of it is issu'd jointly by the Early English Text and Chaucer Societies, the Chaucer Society copies having a slightly different title.

I thank Lord Ellesmere for lending me Francis Thynne's *Animadversions* MS., and letting me see his other MSS.; Lord Bath and Canon Jackson for the statements from the Longleat Papers relating to Francis Thynne[1]; Mr W. Christie-Miller of Britwell for his sketch of the contents of the first sheet of *The Courte of Venus;* my friend Mr Bradshaw for his happy hits, of Sir Bryan Tuke's writing Wm Thynne's Preface, of the rise of Francis Thynne's story about his father's cancelld *Pilgrims-Tale* edition of Chaucer, &c.; Mr Stephen Tucker, Rouge Croix, for his Heralds' Office information; Mr G. Parker of the Bodleian, and Miss Toulmin Smith, for their searches and careful copies; and the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr Mark Pattison, and all other helpers, for their aid.

3, *St George's Square, Primrose Hill, London, N.W.*
August 3, *and October* 28, 1875.

[1] The reader will see that the thanks to Lord Bath are for very small mercies. I hope some successor of his, will let some successor of mine, print Francis Thynne's Letters, &c., in full, so as to make our knowledge of the man and his circumstances as complete as it can be made.

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PREFACE.

THE author of the following interesting specimen of 16th-century criticism came of a Shropshire family of great antiquity; of so great an antiquity, indeed, as to preclude our tracing it back to its origin. [1]Much interesting matter connected with the family was collected by a late descendant of a younger branch, Beriah Botfield, and published by him in a work called "Stemmata Botevilliana."[2] There is some uncertainty about the earlier generations, which is not quite cleared up in that volume. The family name of Thynne occurs in records in the West of England as early as Edward II: but according to the work alluded to, a certain Walter or Thomas Botfield about 1388 was the root of several branches, some of which retained the name, with the variety of Botevyle; but the eldest branch obtained that of Thynne, from the circumstance of its inheriting the freeholds and mansion house or Inn, the copyholds being given to another.[1] The term Inn was used in the sense which has given us "Lincoln's Inn," "Gray's Inn," or "Furnival's Inn," merely meaning a place of residence of the higher class, though in this case inverted, the Inn giving its name to its owner.

[a]John de la Inne married Jane Bowdler, and their son William became Clerk of the Kitchen, and afterwards one of

[1–1] and [a–a] By Canon Jackson.

[2] Second and enlargd edition. The first thin edition containd little information; and only 25 copies of it were printed.—F.

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the Masters of the Household, to Henry VIII.[1] By his marriage with Anne, daughter of William Bond, Clerk of the Green Cloth, William Thynne had one son, our Francis Thynne, and some daughters, one of whom, Ann, was wife of Richard Mawdley of Nunney in the county of Somerset.[2]

Though his son gives him no higher position in the court of Henry VIII. than the apparently humble one of clerk of the kitchen, he is careful to let us know that the post was in reality no mean one, and that "there were those of good worship both at court and country" who had at one time been well pleased to be his father's clerks. That he was a man of superior mind there is no question, and we have a pleasant hint, in the following tract, of his intimacy with his king, and of their mutual fondness for literature. To William Thynne, indeed, all who read the English language are deeply indebted, for to his industry and love for his author we owe much of what we now possess of Chaucer. Another curious bit of

[1] He calls himself Clerk of the Kitchen in the Dedication of his *Chaucer* to Henry VIII.—F.

[2] Noble so calls him, see p. xvii, below. He is not so calld in the *Household Ordinances*. See *Hindwords*, below.—F.

[3] The compilers of Mr Botfield's *Stemmata Botevilliana* wrongly identify William Thynne, the Chaucer editor, with the profligate adulterer *Thynnus Aulicus*, mentiond in Erasmus's Letters, book xv, let. xiv, who divorct his neglected, and then erring, wife, and let her fall into prostitution and disease. This *Thynnus* was evidently a foreigner, a man settled abroad near Erasmus's friend *Vitrarius*, and could not possibly be our Wm Thynne. Mr Bradshaw, who first calld my attention to the mistake, and Mr Hales, have lookt very carefully into the question, and are quite certain of their result.

The adulterer Thynne is almost certainly not the Thynne mentiond in "1516, Aug. 2323. *Er. Ep.* viii. 14. Erasmus to Ammonius. [from (Sir) T. More's] Hopes the hunting may prove as fortunate to Ammonius as it has proved unfortunate to Erasmus. It carried away the King; then the Cardinal. Had angled for Urswick by sending him a New Testament, and asked for the horse he had promised. Finds, when visiting him on Monday, that he had also gone hunting.—Thynne slips off in the same way; and now Ammonius." *Brewer's Calendar of Henry VIII.*, Vol. II. pt. i. p. 716.—F.

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literary gossip to be gleaned from this tract is, that William Thynne was a patron and supporter of John Skelton, who was an inmate of his house at Erith, whilst composing that most masterly bit of bitter truth, his "Colin Clout," a satire perhaps unsurpassed in our language.

William Thynne rests beside his wife, in the church of Allhallows, Barking, near the Tower of London, where there are two handsome brasses to their memory. That of William Thynne represents him in full armour with a tremendous dudgeon dagger and broadsword, most warlike guize for a clerk of the kitchen and editor of Chaucer. The dress of his wife is quite refreshing in its graceful comeliness in these days of revived "farthingales and hoops." These brasses were restored by the Marquess of Bath. Would that the same good feeling for things old had prevented the owners of the "church property" from casing the old tower with a hideous warehouse.

The Sir John Thynne mentioned in the "Animadversions" was a cousin of Francis. He married Christian, daughter of Sir Richard, and sister and heir of Sir Thomas Gresham, the builder of the Royal Exchange, part of whose wealth was perhaps devoted to the building of the beautiful family seat of Long Leat, in Wiltshire, in which work he was doubtless aided indirectly by the Reformation, for, says the old couplet,

> "Portman, Horner, Popham, and Thynne,
> When the monks went out, they came in."

Francis Thynne was born in Kent, probably at his father's house at Erith[1], in or before 1546. He was educated at Tunbridge school under learned Master Proctor. He was never at any University, though Wood says he was; neither was he at Lincoln's Inn, as has been asserted, though he associated with members of the Inn. Some men are born antiquarians as others are born poets, and this was the case with Francis

[1] Noble wrongly says at Stretton in Shropshire. See p. xviii, below.—F.

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Thynne. His letter desiring employment in the Heralds' Office is extant, and it procured him the post of "Blanch Lyon pursuivant[1]," a position which would enable him to pursue studies, the results of which, however valuable in themselves, but seldom prove capable of being converted into the vulgar necessities of food and raiment. Poor John Stowe, with his license to beg, as the reward of the labour of his life, is a terrible proof of how utterly unmarketable a valuable commodity may become.

Leading a calm and quiet life in the pleasant villages of Poplar and Clerkenwell, in "sweet and studious idleness," as he himself calls it, the old herald was enabled to accumulate rich stores of matter, much of which has come down to us, principally in manuscript, scattered through various great libraries, which prove him to have deserved Camden's estimate of him as "an antiquary of great judgment and diligence." It would seem that he had entertained the idea of following in his father's footsteps, and of becoming an editor of Chaucer, and that he had even made some collections towards that end. The appearance of Speght's edition probably prevented this idea being carried out, and the evident soreness exhibited in this little tract very probably arose from a feeling that his friend had rather unfairly stolen a march upon him. However the wound was not deep, and Speght made use of Thynne's corrections, and Thynne assisted Speght, in his new edition of Chaucer's Works, with all friendship and sympathy.[2] I sus-

[1] Francis Thynne, Esq. was created Lancaster Herald at the Palace of Greenwich, in the Council Chamber, April 22, 1602 (Noble's *Hist. of the College of Arms*, p. 184), and Blanch Lion pursuivant, seemingly in the same year. *Noble*, p. 188. See Noble's account, p. xviii, below.—F.

[2] "To the readers. After this booke was last printed, I vnderstood that M. *Francis Thynn* had a purpose, as indeed he hath when time shall serue, to set out *Chaucer* with a Coment in our tongue, as the Italians haue *Petrarke* and others in their language. Whereupon I purposed not to meddle any further in this work, although some promise made to the contrarie, but to referre all to him; being a Gentleman for that purpose inferior to none, both in regard of his own skill, as also of

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pect Thynne of dabbling in alchemy and the occult sciences. He shows himself well acquainted with the terms peculiar to those mysteries, and hints that Chaucer only "enveyed" against the "sophisticall abuse," not the honest use, of the Arcana. Moreover, in the British Museum (MS. Add. 11,388) there is a volume containing much curious matter collected by him on these subjects, and not only collected, but illustrated by him with most gorgeous colours and wondrous drawing, worthy of the blazonry of a Lancaster Herald. The costumes however are carefully correct, and give us useful hints as to the fashion of the raiment of our ancestors. From the peculiar piety and earnestness (most important elements in the search for the philosopher's stone) of the small "signs" and prayers appended to these papers, it is, I think, clear, that Thynne was working in all good faith and belief. Possibly the following lines, which seem to have been his favourite motto, may have been inspired by the disappointment and dyspepsia produced by his smoky studies and their ill success,

"My strange and froward fate
Shall turn her whele anew,
To better or to payre my fate,
Which envy dothe pursue."

On the 22nd of April, 1602, he was with great ceremony advanced to the honour of Lancaster Herald. He never surrendered his patent; and as his successor entered on that post in November, 1608, he is supposed to have died about that date, though some postpone his death till 1611. He married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas de la Rivers of Bransbe, but left no issue.

those helps left to him by his father. Yet notwithstanding, *Chaucer* now being printed againe, I was willing not only to helpe some imperfections, but also to adde some things: whereunto he did not only persuade me, but most kindly lent me his helpe and direction. By this meanes most of his old words are restored: Prouerbes and Sentences marked: Such Notes as were collected, drawne into better order, and the text by old Copies corrected."—Speght's *Chaucer*, 1602, leaf 2, back.

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There are many points of interest to be picked out of the following honest and straightforward bit of criticism, if we examine it closely: and, firstly, as to its author? Is there not something very characteristic in its general tone, something dimly sketching a shadowy outline of a kindly, fussy, busy, querulous old man, much given to tiny minutiæ, a careful copier with a clean pen, indefatigable in collecting "contributions" to minor history; one jealous of all appearance of slight to his office, even to being moved to wrath with Master Speght for printing "Harolds" instead of "Harlotts," and letting him know how mightily a "Harold" like himself would be offended at being holden of the condition of so base a thing as False Semblance? Perhaps the more so from a half-consciousness that the glory of the office was declining, and that if the smallest opening were given, a ribald wit might create terrible havoc amongst his darling idols. How delicately he snubs Master Speght for not calling on him at Clerkenwell Green (How would Speght have travelled the distance in 1598? It was a long uphill walk for an antiquarian, and the fields by no means safe from long-staff sixpenny strikers); and how modestly he hints that he would have derived no "disparagement" from so doing; showing all the devotion to little matters of etiquette of an amiable but irritable old gentleman of our own day.

But mark this old gentleman's description of his father's collection of Chaucer MSS.! Had ever a Bibliophile a more delightful commission than that one of William Thynne's, empowering him to rout and to rummage amongst all the monasteries and libraries of England in search of the precious fragments? And had ever a Bibliophile a greater reward for his pleasant toils? "Fully furnished with a multitude of books, emongst which one coppye of some part of his works subscribed in various places 'Examinatur Chaucer'!" Where is this invaluable MS. now? It is worth the tracing, if it be

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possible, even to its intermediate history. Was it one of those stolen from Francis Thynne's house at Poplar by that bibliomaniacal burglar? or was it one of those which in a fit of generosity, worthy of those heroic times, he gave to Stephen Batemann, that most fortunate parson of Newington? Is this commission to be regarded as some slight proof that the spoliation of the monasteries was not carried on with the reckless Vandalism usually attributed to the reformers?

We learn from this tract that William Thynne left no less than twenty-five copies of Chaucerian MSS. to his son, doubtless but a small tything of the entire number extant, showing that there were men amongst the monks who could enjoy wit and humour even when directed against themselves, and that there must have been some considerable liberality if not laxness of rule amongst the orders of the day. It would, I fancy, be difficult to find amongst the monkeries of our own time (except possibly those belonging to that very cheery order, the Capuchines) an abbot inclined to permit his monks to read, much less to copy, so heretical a work as the Canterbury Tales, however freely he winked at the introduction of French nouvellettes.

But though some may have enjoyed Chaucer in all good faith, there were others who saw how trenchant were the blows he dealt against the churchmen of his time, and what deadly mischief to their pre-eminence lurked under his seeming *bonhommie*. Wolsey thought it worth his while to exert his influence against him so strongly as to oblige William Thynne to alter his plan of publication, though backed by the promised protection of Henry VIII. And the curious action of the Parliament noticed in the tract (p. 10) was doubtless owing to the same influence[1]: an assumption of

[1] Urry, in his Ed. of Chaucer, says that the Canterbury Tales were exempt from the prohibition of the Act of 34 Henry VIII., "For the advancement of true religion." I find no notice of this in the Act in

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the right of censure by the Parliament which seems to have gone near to deprive us of Chaucer altogether. The Parliament men were right in regarding the works of Chaucer as mere fables, but they forgot that fables have "morals," and that these morals were directed to the decision of the great question of whether the "spiritual" or the "temporal" man was to rule the world, a question unhappily not quite settled even in our own time.

The notice of that other sturdy reformer, John Skelton (p. 10) is also very interesting, and gives us a hint of the existence of a "protesting" feeling in the Court of Henry VIII. before there was any reason for attributing it to mere private or political motives. From the way in which it is mentioned here, I suspect that the more general satire "Colin Clout" preceded the more directly personal one of "Why come ye nat to court?" which lashes Wolsey himself with a heartily outspoken virulence which would hardly have been tolerated by him when in the zenith of his power. It

the "Statutes at large," 1763. He also refers to Foxe's Acts and Monuments, which is also merely negative on the subject.—K.

[Urry was right, though; for in the Record Office edition of the Statutes, the fifth clause of this "Acte for thadvauncement of true Religion and for thabbolishment of the contrarie," runs thus:

"Provided allso that all bokes in Englishe printed before the yere of our Lorde a thousande fyve hundred and fourtie intytled the Kinges Hieghnes proclamacions, injunctions, translacions of the Pater noster, the Ave Maria and the Crede, the psalters, prymers, prayer[s], statutes and lawes of the Realme, Cronycles, *Canterburye tales*, *Chaucers bokes*, Gowers bokes, and stories of mennes lieves, shall not be comprehended in the prohibicion of this acte, oonelesse the Kinges saide Majestie shall hereafter make speciall proclamacion for the condempnacion and reproving of the same or any of them."

Thus Chaucer's works were not held to be "pestiferous and noysoome," like "the craftye false and untrue translacion of Tyndale," and the "printed bokes, printed balades, playes, rymes, songes, and other fantasies" that were "subtillye and craftilye instructing his Hieghnes people, and speciallye the youthe of this his Realme, untruelie and otherwyse thanne the scripture ought, or should be, taught, declared, or expounded."—F.]

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was not improbably written whilst its author was safe in sanctuary under Bishop Islip. William Thynne, court favourite though he was, could never have kept Skelton's head on his shoulders after so terrible a provocation.

Wherever he may be placed, John Skelton stands alone amongst satirists; there is no one like him. Possibly from a feeling that he was writing on the winning side, and sure of sympathy and protection, he scorns to hide his pearls under a dunghill like Rabelais, and utters fearlessly and openly what he has to say. Even in our own time,

> "Though his rime be ragged,
> Tattered and iagged,
> Rudely rain-beaten,
> Rusty and moth-eaten,
> *If ye talke well therewyth,*
> *Yt hath in it some pith.*"

Thynne's note on the family of Gower (p. 12) is of value as agreeing with later theories, which deny that Gower the poet was of the Gowers of Stittenham, the ancestors of the present houses of Sutherland and Ellesmere. The question is not, however, finally decided, and we have reason to believe that all the Gowers of Great Britain are descended from the same family of Guers still flourishing in Brittany. Early coat-armours are not much to be depended on, and Thynne as a Herald may lean a little too much towards them. The question is, however, in good hands, and I hope that before long some fresh light may be thrown upon it.

The old story of Chaucer's having been fined for beating a Franciscan friar in Fleet Street is doubted by Thynne, though hardly, I think, on sufficient grounds.[1] Tradition (when it agrees with our own views) is not lightly to be disturbed, and remembering with what more than feminine powers of invective "spiritual" men seem to be not unfrequently endowed, and also how atrociously insolent a Fran-

[1] I look on the story as gammon.—F. J. F.

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ciscan friar would be likely to be (of course from the best motives) to a man like Chaucer, who had burnt into the very soul of monasticism with the caustic of his wit, I shall continue to believe the legend for the present. If the mediæval Italians are to be believed, the cudgelling of a friar was occasionally thought necessary even by the most faithful, and I see no reason why hale Dan Chaucer should not have lost his temper on sufficient provocation. Old men have hot blood sometimes, and Dickens does not outrage probability when he makes Martin Chuzzelwit the elder fell Mr Pecksniff to the ground.

Much of the tract is taken up by corrections of etymologies, and the explanation of obscure and obsolete words. It is a little curious that the word "orfrayes," which had gone so far out of date as to be unintelligible to Master Speght, should, thanks to the new rage for church and clergy decoration, have become reasonably common again. The note on the "Vernacle" is another bit of close and accurate antiquarian knowledge worth noting. It is most tantalizing that after all he says about that mysterious question of "The Lords son of Windsor," a question as mysterious as that demanding why Falstalf likened Prince Henry's father to a "singing man" of the same place, we should be left as wise as we were before. We have here and there, too, hints as to what we have lost from Thynne's great storehouse of information; how valuable would have been "that long and no common discourse" which he tells us he might have composed on that most curious form of judicial knavery, the ordeal; and possibly much more so is that of his "collections" for his edition of Chaucer! This last may, however, be still recovered by some fortunate literary mole.

The notice, by no means clear, but certainly not complimentary, of "the second editione to one inferior personne, than my father's editione was," may refer to the edition of

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Chaucer which was printed about 1550, (says Mr Bradshaw, though the British Museum Catalogue says '1545?') more or less from William Thynne's second edition of 1542; but from another passage hinting that Speght followed "a late English corrector whom I forbear to name," I suspect that the "inferior personne" was poor John Stowe, and that the edition sneered at was that edited by him in 1561, the nearest in point of date to that of Speght.

The manuscript from which the present tract is reprinted is, like most of the treasures of the Bridgewater Library, wonderfully clean and in good order. It is entirely in the Autograph of Francis Thynne, and was evidently written purposely for the great Lord Chancellor Egerton, and bears his arms emblazoned on the back of title-page. Master Speght most probably got *his* copy of the Animadversions in a more humble form.[1]

In conclusion may I remark that, as usual, the green silk ribands, originally attached to the vellum and gold cover, are closely cut away, probably for the purpose of being converted into shoe-ties, which Robert Greene informs us was the usual destination of ribands appended to presentation copies. He hints at the same time that those appendages were generally the only solid advantage gained by the dedicatee from the honour done him.

MARK NOBLE'S ACCOUNT OF FRANCIS THYNNE, FROM HIS *HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE OF ARMS*, LONDON, 1804, p. 213.

LANCASTER. *ELIZ. FRANCIS THYNNE, ESQ.*

Descended from a branch of the ennobled family, now having the title of Marquis of Bath. The ancient name was

[1] The alterations in Speght's Glossary, &c. of 1602 show that he did have a copy of Thynne's criticism of him: see the Notes to the text in the following pages, and Speght's words, p. x, *n.*, above.—F.

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Botteville, taken from a place in Poitou, whence they came to assist John in the barons' wars. Settling at Stretton, in Shropshire, and losing their old name, they acquired that of le Thynne, literally the Inn, a significant term for their large spacious mansion at Stretton; the houses of the great being in former ages called inns. William le Thynne, of Stretton, by Joan, daughter of John Higgons of that place, had issue two sons; Thomas le Thynne seated at Stretton, from whom descended the Marquis of Bath, and William le Thynne, Chief Clerk of the Kitchen to Henry VIII., afterwards Master of the Household to that Monarch. He was father to Lancaster Thynne, who was born at Stretton, and educated at Tonbridge School, under Mr Proctor, the historian, commended by Holingshed; from thence he went to Oxford. Upon his leaving that University, he was sent to Lincoln's Inn to study the law; but fond of heraldic and genealogical pursuits, he presented a petition to Lord Burleigh, then presiding at the head of the commission for executing the office of Earl Marshal, requesting to be admitted into the College, desiring a previous examination, even in the deepest points of armoury which could be obtained, without the knowledge of philosophy and history, mentioning, as a recommendation in his own favour, that he had drawn out a "series" of the lord treasurers and composed "certain circularly pedigrees of the earls and viscounts of England." His acquirements were acknowledged; he was raised to the office of an herald without having ever been a pursuivant. He was then 57 years old. He died in 1608, not in 1611, as Wood mentions, who has fallen into many mistakes about him. Camden calls him "an excellent antiquary and a gentleman, painful and well-deserving of his office whilst he lived." Garter Dethick put his name down as a fit person to be raised to be Norroy. His arms were Or, five bars Sable. Hearne published "A Discourse of the Dutye and Office of an Heraulde of Armes, written by him the third day

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of March 1605." In the year 1651 were printed his "Histories concerning Ambassadors and their Functions," dedicated to his good friend William, Lord Cobham. He continued the Chronicle, known by the name of Holingshed's, finishing the Annals of Scotland, from 1586 down to where they now end. He drew up a list of English Cardinals, added to the reign of Mary I. He wrote the Catalogue of English Historical Writers. His "Discourses" upon the Earls of Leicester, Archbishops of Canterbury, Lords Cobham, and the Catalogue of the Wardens of the Cinque Ports, were suppressed. He also wrote his History of Dover Castle and the Cinque Ports; the Genealogical History of the Cobhams; Discourses of Arms, concerning the Bath and Batchelor Knights; the History and Lives of the Lord Treasurers, mentioned in a MS. life of him, now in the collection of Sir Joseph Ayleffe, Bart. Numerous as these works are, yet there are various other literary productions of his: some of them are preserved in the Cotton Library, others were possessed by Anstis, sen. Garter. His heraldic collections are in the College of Arms, and in the Ashmoleian Museum at Oxford. Some of his manuscripts are collections of antiquities, sepulchral inscriptions, taken by him from English churches, and elsewhere. He intended to have published an edition of Chaucer's works, but declining that, gave his labours relative to it to Speght, who published them in his edition of that poet's works, with his own notes, and those of his father, who printed the first edition of this ancient writer in 1542, being the oldest of any except Caxton's. Thynne, Lancaster, had meant to have written a comment upon the text: some verses of his are prefixed to Speght's edition.

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HINDWORDS

BY

F. J. FURNIVALL.

I. WILLIAM THYNNE (dies Aug. 10, 1546).

a. Henry VIII's grants to him, p. xxi, xxvii, xxviii. (2 Letters, p. 131.)
b. Duties as Clerk of the Kitchen, p. xxii.
c. His Dedication of *Chaucers Workes* to Henry VIII, written by Sir Brian Tuke, p. xxiv.
d. His service at Anne Boleyn's Coronation, p. xxvii.
e. Is Clerk-Comptroller of the Household: his Contracts, p. xxviii; Duties, p. xxx; Food, p. xxxvi; and Allowances, p. xxxviii.
f. His Monument and Will, p. xxxix.
g. His edition of Chaucer, p. xl.
h. *The Pilgrims Tale*, p. xlii; and 'sise, the best cast on the dice,' p. xliv.

II. FRANCIS THYNNE (A.D. 1545—1608).

i. His notes of his Youth, p. xlvii.
i. His Marriage, and Improvidence, p. xlviii.
k. His first antiquarian work, p. xlix.
l. Is imprisond, and nearly starvd, p. li.
m. His bad opinion of Wives, p. lvi.
n. His Release, and *Homo, animal sociale*, p. lvii.
o. His *Perfecte Ambassadoure*, p. lix.
p. Parts I, II, III of the *Comentaries of Britayne* (Part III containing an Abstract of the lost English Romance of *Fitzwarine and his Sons*), p. lxi.
q. Continuation of Holinshed's *Chronicle*, p. lxiv—lxxxix (with an account of the Castrations of that *Continuation*, p. lxvi).
r Application for post in the Heralds' Office, p. xc.
s. His Speeches at the Society of Antiquaries, p. xciii.
t. Second Application for post in the Heralds' Office, p. xcvi.
u. His *Discourse of Armes*, p. xcvii.
v. *Names and Arms of the Chancellors*, p. xcviii.
w. *Animadversions on Speght's Chaucer*, p. cii.
x. *Emblems and Epigrams*, p. ciii.
y. *Lord Marshal of England*, p. civ.
z. His Creation as Lancaster Herald, p. cv.
A. His Poem on Chaucer, p. cvi.
B. *Advocate and Ant'advocate*, p. cix.
C. *Duty and Office of a Herald:* is gouty, drinks, and dies, p. cxiii.
D. List of Francis Thynne's Works, p. cxviii.
E. Mr J. P. Collier quite wrong in attributing 4 books to F. Thynne, p. cxxvii. Extracts from these:
1. Debate between Pride and Lowliness, p. cxxviii.
2. Pleasaunt Dialogue betweene the Cap & Head, 1564, p. cxxix.
3. Newes from the North, 1579 (ed. 1585), p. cxxxi.
4. The Case is altered, 1604, p. cxxxvii.

F. Mr Collier wrong again, p. cxlii.

To my friend Dr Kingsley's Forewords (or 'Preface') I wish to add some Hindwords on 1. *a.* the duties and allowances of our old Chaucer-

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editor, William Thynne,[1] at Henry VIII's court, that we may better realize his life; *b*. the special points of his edition of Chaucer, with *c*. a note on the re-found *Pilgrim's Tale;* and 2. some fresh notices of his son Francis's life, and details about his works, in which latter I shall have to comment on Mr J. P. Collier's attributing to him certain books which it is absurd to suppose he ever wrote. I make these additions because the *Animadversions* is now printed for the Chaucer Society as well as the Early English Text Society.

I. WILLIAM THYNNE.

I *a*. Assuming, as I do, that our William Thynne was not the Thynne mentiond in Aug. 1516 by Erasmus (*Ep.* viii. 14),—when he, writing from Sir Thomas More's to Ammonius, says that hunting had carrid off the King, the Cardinal, Urswick, *Thynne*, and now Ammonius (Brewer's *Calendar*, Hen. VIII, vol. II, Pt I, p. 717, No. 2323),—we first come on our Chaucer-editor in 1524, when he is but Second Clerk of the Kitchen to Henry VIII, though in 1526 he is Chief Clerk:—

Entries from Mr Brewer's Calendar of Henry VIII, forthcoming vol. up to 1530, *supplied by the kindness of Mr C. Trice Martin of the Record Office.*

Wm Thynne.

11 Feb. 15 Hen. VIII (1524). Second Clerk of the Kitchen, to be bailiff in reversion of Rye, Essex, now held by Ric. Shurley, cofferer of Hen. VII's household.—Pat. 15 Hen. VIII, pt. 2, membrane 18.

24 Oct. 18 Hen. VIII. (1526). Chief Clerk of the Kitchen. Grant of Annuity of £10 out of the issues of the Manors of Cleobury Barnes, Salop.—Pat. 18 Hen. VIII, pt. 1, m. 16.

25 Feb. 1528. Signature to the expenses of a royal banquet.[2] Lansdowne MS. 1. f. 203-9. "Visus *per* me Wille*lmum* Thynne."

20 Aug. 1528. Chief Clerk of the Kitchen. To be bailiff of the town, and keeper of the park, of Beaudley, Salop, *vice* Sir W. Compton. —Pat. 20 Hen. VIII, pt. 1, m. 24.

22 Dec. 1528. Grant to John Chamber, Clerk; Wm Thynne, Chief Clerk of the Kitchen; and John Thynne; of the next presentation to the church of Stoke Clymslond.—Pat. 20 Hen. VIII, pt. 2, m. 11.

[1] Anthony Wood says, i. 136, "William Thynne, otherwise Botevill, was, as it seems, a Salopian born, and educated among the Oxonians for a time. Afterwards retiring to the court, became, through several petty employments, chief clerk of the kitchen to K. Hen. 8, and is stiled by Erasmus 'Thynnus Aulicus':" on this last point see p. viii, above, and the Notes at the end.

[2] Here insuyth the hole Charge of a dyner made by the kynge*s* highnes in the Loge in the Litle parke of Wyndeso*ur* the xxv*th* of February, being the xix yere of hys Reyne." leaf 203.

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21 July 1529. Head Clerk of the Kitchen, to be Customer[1] of Wools, hides, and fleeces in the port of London, *vice* Wm Uvedall.

Signed Bill.

8 Oct. 1529. Chief Clerk of the Kitchen. To be Receiver General of the Earldom of March, and Keeper of Gately Park, Wigmoresland, *vice* Sir Edw. Crofte.—Pat. 21 Hen. VIII, pt. 1, m. 11, vacated 5 May, 38 Hen. VIII (A.D. 1546), to grant a new patent to William[2] & John Thynne. [Our Wm Thynne died on Aug. 10, 1546.]

(There may very likely be more mention of William Thynne later, but his appointments as Clerk of the Kitchen do not appear in the Patent Rolls.—C. T. M.)

"In 1531 William Thynne obtained from the Prior and Convent of the Blessed Trinity called Christchurch near Aldgate in London a lease for 54 years of the Rectorial Tithe of Erith in Kent, where he lived[3]".

1 *b.* Now Wm Thynne's duties as a Clerk of the Kitchen are set forth in the Statutes made at Eltham in January 1526 A.D., by Wolsey and the Council, for the regulation of the King's household. And these statutes were made on this wise, as Halle tells us:—

"In this Wynter [1525] was greate death in London, wherefore the Terme was adiorned, and the king, for to eschew the plague, kept his

[1] Collector of Customs, as Francis Thynne witnesses:—"Thomas Smith of Ostinhanger esquire . . . who is neuertheless called by the name of *Customer* Smith, because in times past his office was by letters patent to collect the said custome [inward] and to yeeld account thereof, as other *customers* vsuallie doo, hauing for his fee one hundred and three score pounds yearlie." 1586, Fr. Thin, in *Holinshed's Chron.* iii. 1539, col. 1. As Chaucer was in his day Controller of Customs, so was his Editor, in his day, Collector of Customs.

Customer Smith.

[2] "I find another Will. Thynne esq. brother to sir John Thynne knight, who, after he had travell'd through most parts of Europe, return'd an unaccomplish'd gentleman, and in the 1 Edw. 6, [An.] Dom. 1547, went into Scotland under the command of Edward Duke of Somerset, (to which duke his brother sir John was secretary) where as an 'eques cataphractus' (that is, a chevalier arm'd cap a pè) he performed excellent service in the battel of Muscelborough against the Scots. This person I take to be the same, to whom K. Hen. 8, by his letters pat. dat. 8 May 38 of his reign, Dom. 1546, gave the office of general receiver of two counties in the Marches of Wales, commonly call'd the Earl of Marches Lands. At length when the infirmities of age came upon him, he gave himself solely up to devotion, and was a daily auditor of divine service in the abbey of Westminster. He surrendered up his soul to him that gave it, 14 March 1584, and was buried in the said church opposite to the door leading into the cloister. Over his grave was soon after erected a monument of alabaster."—A. Wood, *Ath. Ox.* i. 137. See the Inscription on his monument, with a short biography of him, in *Stemmata Bottevilliana*, 1858, p. 33; also p. cccvi.

[3] Canon Jackson, from Papers at Longleat. See *Notes* for two letters.

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Christmas at Eltham with a small nomber, for no manne might come thether but suche as wer appoynted by name: this Christmas in the kynges house, was called the still Christmas. But the Cardinall in this season, laye at the Manor of Richemond, and there kept open housholde, to lordes, ladies, and all other that would come, with plaies and disguisyng in most royall manner; which sore greued the people, and in especial the kynges servauntes, to se him kepe an open Court, and the kyng a secret Court.

"The Cardinall came to Eltham the .viii. daie of Ianuary [1526 A.D.], and taried there till the .xxii. daie. In whiche season the Cardinall, and other of the kynges counsaill, sat for a direction to be taken in the kynges house and, . . . [after discharging and pensioning the old useless officers (who had let their servants do their duty) and 'lxiiii of the gard']

"At this season the Cardinall made many ordinances concerning the kynges house, which bee at this daie called the statutes of Eltham, the whiche some saied wer more profitable then honorable."—*Halle's Chronicle*, 1548, 1550, ed. 1809, p. 707.

These Wolsey 'Statutes of Eltham' are preservd in the Harleian MS. 642, &c., and were publisht by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790, in their collection of *Household Ordinances*, and at p. 142 of this book we find what Thynne's duties as Clerk of the Kitchen[1] were—on leaf 143 of the Harl. MS. 642, whence I quote:—

Clarkes of the Kitchine.

(Cap. 14.) Item, it is ordeyned that the chiefe Clarkes, with 2 under Clarkes of the same, giue good attendance to see the seruice of the Kinge and his household; and speciallye that such stuffe of victualls as apperteyneth to the Kinges dishe be of the best and sweetest stuffe that can be gotten, and in likewise for euerye estate and other within the Kinges house, accordinge to theire degrees; and that the stuffe maye be in the Larder in good hower, soe that the Cookes maye haue[2] reasonable leasure for the good seasoninge of the same; [and the same] soe dressed to be serued by the ouersight of the sayd Clarke of the Kitchine in due and perfect manner, to the Kinges more honour and proffitte, without embessellinge or takeinge awaye any parte of the same to any other vse. (Harl. MS. 642, leaf 143, back.)

Victuals for the King, &c., to be the best possible;

and in the Larder in good time for cooking;

and be well cookt and servd,

without any being stolen.

[1] The words on *H. Ord.* p. 158, directing the delivery of the meat for "the six gentlemen of the King's Chamber, the ushers, and four groomes of the same," and the 'barbor,' "to the *clerke* of the king's privy kitchen, there to be honestly and well dressed" seem to be a mistake for the *cooke* mentiond five lines below, "shall be delivered as afore, unto the cooke of the King's privy kittchen."

[2] MS. houe.

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I *c*. In the dedication of his edition of *Chaucers Workes* to Henry VIII in 1532, William Thynne also describes himself as "chefe clerke of your kechyn." Here is an extract from the document, from sign. A ii, back, col. 1:

"And verayly / lyke as all these [foreigners] and the rest haue ben thus vigilant & studyous to meliorate or amende their langages, so hath there nat lacked amonges vs English men / whiche haue right well and notably endeuoyred and employed them selues / to the beautifyeng and bettryng of thenglysh tonge. ¶ Amonges whom, moost excellent prynce / my most redoubted and gracious souerayngne lorde / I your most humble vassall / subiecte and seruaunt, Wylliam Thynne / chefe clerke of your kechyn / moued by a certayne inclynacion & zele / whiche I haue to here of any thyng soundyng to the laude and honour of this your noble realme / haue taken great delectacyon / as the tymes and laysers might suffre / to rede and here the bokes of that noble & famous clerke Geffray Chaucer / in whose workes is so manyfest comprobacion of his excellent lernyng *in* all kyndes of doctrynes and sciences / suche frutefulnesse in wordes / wel accordynge to the mater and purpose / so swete and plesaunt sentences / suche perfectyon in metre / the *com*posycion so adapted / suche fresshnesse of inuencion / compendyousnesse in narration / suche sensyble and open style / lackyng neither maieste ne mediocrite couenable *in* disposycion / and suche sharpnesse or quycknesse in *con*clusyon / that it is moche to be marueyled / howe in his tyme / wha*n* doutlesse all good letters were layde a slepe through out *the* worlde / as the thynge whiche either by the disposycion & influe*n*ce of the bodies aboue / or by other ordynaunce of god / semed lyke, and was in daunger, to haue vtterly perysshed / suche an excellent poete in our tonge / shulde, as it were (nature repugnyng) spryng and aryse. For though it had been in Demosthenes or Homerus tymes / whan all lernyng and excellency of sciences florisshed amonges the Grekes / or in the season *that* Cicero prince of eloquence amonges latyns lyued / yet it had been a thyng right rare & straun*g*e, and worthy perpetuall laude / *that* any clerke by lernyng or wytte coulde than haue framed a tonge, before so rude and imperfite / to suche a swete ornature & com*p*osycion / lykely if he had lyued in these dayes / bei*n*g good letters so restored and reuyued as they be / if he were nat empeched by the enuy of suche as may tollerate nothyng / whiche to vnderst*o*nde their capacite doth nat exte*n*de / to haue brought it vnto a full and fynall perfection. Wherfore, gracious souerayne lorde / takynge suche delyte and pleasure in the workes of this noble clerke (as is afore mencioned) I haue of a longe season moche vsed to rede and visyte the same: and as bokes of dyuers impri*n*tes came vnto my handes / I easely and without grete study / might and haue deprehended in the*m* many errours / falsyties / and deprauacio*n*s / whiche euydently appered by the contrarietees and alteracions founde by collacion of the one with the other / wherby I was

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moued and styred to make dilygent sertch where I might fynde or recouer any trewe copies or exemplaries of the sayd bookes / whervnto in processe of tyme / nat without coste and payne, I attayned / and nat onely vnto such as seme to be very trewe copies of those workes of Geffray Chaucer / whiche before had been put in printe / but also to dyuers other neuer tyll nowe imprinted / but remaynyng almost vnknowen and in oblyuion / whervpon lamentyng with my selfe / the neglygence of the people / that haue been in this realme / who doutlesse were very remysse in the settyng forthe or auaun*c*ement either of the histories therof / to the great hynderaunce of the renoume of such noble princes and valyant conquerours & capitayns as haue ben in the same / or also of the workes or memory of *the* famous and excellent clerkes in all kyndes of scyences that haue florisshed therin / Of whiche bothe sortes it hath pleased god as highly to nobilytate this yle as any other regyon of christendome: I thought it in maner appertenant vnto my dewtie / and that of very honesty and loue to my cou*n*trey I ought no lesse to do / tha*n* to put my helpyng hande to the restauracion and bringynge agayne to lyght of the said workes / after the trewe copies and exe*m*plaries aforesaid. And deuisyng wit*h* my selfe / who of all other were most worthy / to whom a thyng so excellent and notable shulde be dedicate / whiche to my conceite semeth for the admiracion / noueltie / and strangnesse that it myght be reputed to be of in the tyme of the authour / in comparison / as a pure and fyne tryed p*re*cious or polyced iewell out of a rude or indigest masse or mater / none coulde to my thynkyng occurre / that syns / or in the tyme of Chaucer / was or is suffycient / but onely your maiestie royall / whiche by discrecyon and iugement / as moost absolute in wysedome and all kyndes of doctryne / coulde, & of his innate clemence and goodnesse wolde, adde, or gyue any authorite hervnto.

"For this cause, most excellent and i*n* all vertues most prestant prince / I, as humbly p*ro*strate before your kyngly estate / lowly supply and beseche the same / that it wol vouchsafe to take in good parte my poore studye and desyrous mynde / in reducynge vnto lyght this so precious and necessary an ornament of the tonge of this your realme / ouer pytous to haue ben in any poynt lost / falsifyed / or neglected: So that vnder the shylde of your most royall protectyon and defence, it may go forthe in publyke / & preuayle ouer those that wolde blemysshe / deface / and in many thynges clerely abolyssh, the laude / renoume / and glorie hertofore compared / and meritoriously adquired by dyuers princes / and other of this said most noble yle / whervnto nat onely straungers, vnder prestexte of highe lernyng & knowlege of their malycious and peruers myndes / but also some of your owne subiectes / blynded in foly & ignorance / do with great study contende. Most gracious / victorious / and of god most electe and worthy prince / my most dradde soueraygne lorde / in whom of very merite / dewtie / and successyon / is renewed the glorious tytell of Defensor of the christen faithe / whiche by your noble progenytour / the great Co*n*stantyne / somtyme kyng of this realme / & emperour of Rome, was nexte god and his apostels /

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chefely maynteyned / corroborate / and defended / almighty Iesu send to yo*ur* highnesse the contynuall and euerlastynge habundaunce of his infynite grace. Amen.

¶ Thus endeth the preface."

In connection with this Preface comes one of those pretty discoveries[1] which have made Mr Bradshaw's name so famous among manuscript and black-letter men. He shall tell it in his own words, as he wrote it to me:—

"We know that Wm Thynne was 'Chief Clerk of the Kitchin,' that is, as we should now say, that he held an appointment in the Royal Household (the Board of Green Cloth) at Greenwich. Sir Brian Tuke was Postmaster, then an appointment in the same office. When Leland tells us that Sir Brian Tuke wrote a *limatissima præfatio* to the edition of Chaucer published by Berthelet, we are all puzzled; and when Leland tells us that Thynne edited the edition, we are still more puzzled, because no such edition is known. Now the woodcut frame round the title in Godfray's edition (Thynne, 1532) is that which, having belonged to Pynson, the King's Printer, was transferred to Berthelet, his successor as King's Printer; and this is enough to show that there were printing relations between Berthelet and Godfray, quite enough to allow this to be the edition meant. Curiously enough, there is a copy of Godfray's edition in one of the College Libraries here[2], in its original binding, in which, at the top of Thynne's dedication, Sir Brian Tuke has written with his own hand[3]:

"'This p*re*face I sir Bryan) Tuke knight wrot at the request of Mr Clarke of the Kechyn then being / tarying for the tyde at Grenewich.'

"It would be difficult to find a prettier coincidence in all points—the tarrying for the tide at Greenwich, when we learn from quite other sources 1. that Thynne's office was at Greenwich, and 2. that he lived down the Thames at Erith. You will allow that it is not often one has the pleasure of hitting things off so prettily. Observe the words *then being*. In 1532 Thynne describes himself to the king as 'Wylliam Thynne, chefe clerke of your kechyn.' In 1536 Tuke died. On the monument to Wm Thynne in All-hallows Barking Church in London, he is described as 'M. William Thinne esquire, one of the masters of the honourable houshold to king Henry the 8. our soveraigne Lord' (I quote from the *Stemmata Botevilliana*, and M. Botfield probably quotes from Stowe's *London*). The monument says he died August 10, 1546. It is possible that Thynne's position was raised between 1532 and 1536 when Tuke died.—Ever yours, HENRY BRADSHAW."

On March 27, 1533, Wm Thynne got from the King a grant of oaks, but their number is not filld-in in the copy of the document in

[1] See another at p. 75-6 below. [2] Clare Hall.
[3] Mr Bradshaw has had the lines, and a bit of the text, photographt.

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[1] *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 9835, *leaf* 24, *back.*

I wolł and commaunde you that ye deliuer or cause to be deliuered vnto my loving frynde **william Thynne, chef clerk of the kechynne**[2] *with* the kinges grace, or vnto the bringer herof in hys name, Okes of good and conuenient bilding tembre *with* the tops, lops, and barke to be taken of my gieft, of my wodes *with*in the p*ar*ishe of shatisbrok[3] in the forest of windesour, any restrainte or contrary commaundement, what soeuer it be, hertofore by me or in my name made, not*with*standing: and this bill signed *with* my hande sha[l]be your sufficiaunt warraunt and discharge in that behalf towardes me / yeouen at westm*inster* the xxvij day of marche the xxiiij yere of therne of our saide souuerayne lord king henry the eight.

To the wodward or keper of my Wodes in the p*ar*ishe of shatisbroke *with*in the forest of windesour, and in his absence, to hys deputie ther.

1 *d.* On Sunday, June 1, 1533, at the Coronation of Anne Boleyn[4], Wm Thynne was one of the Coferers "for the Queene," attending on her, as we find from the Addit. MS. (Brit. Mus.) 21,116, leaf 51; for among the list of "Officers appointed, such as shall give their attendance on the queenes grace and the Bushop sitting at the quenes bord end, the daie of Coronacion, whitsonday, the first day of June, the 25. yere of the raigne of Henry the viij, ij *serued* (?) one fare," are enterd as 'for the Queene,'

Edmond Peckham, coferer
William Thynne.
Thomas Hatclife.
Edward Weldon for the bushop,
and the said bushop to be serued coue*r*ed.

Again, on leaf 52, back, Wm Thynne is enterd among the

Officers appointed to give their attendance vpon Lordes spirituall & temporall at the Middle borde on the right hand of the Queene, & the firste bord to be xj yardes of Length . . . .

Surveiours at the Dresser without
- Thomas Child
- Thomas Hinde
- William Berman
- Thomas Hall.
- **Wm Thynne**

In the Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 6113, these entries appear somewhat differently, leaf 37 :—

[1] The documents in this MS. are copies only. It *may* be Wm Thynne's entry-book, but more probably is that of some park- or wood-keeper.
[2] Clarendon type only to catch the eye.
[3] Shottesbrook. [4] See my *Ballads from Manuscripts*, i. 364-73.

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"Offycers / and Seruitors *wh*ich dyd Seruice the same daye of Coronac*i*on, beinge the fyrste of June: and first for the Quenes table, ij *serued* (?) one fare / the busshoppe cou*e*red . . . .

(Cofferers, *struck out*) Edmond Peckh*a*m and **Wm Thynne** for the Quene
Conveyers for them Thom*as* Hatclyffe and Edward Welden for the Busshoppe

(*leaf* 39.) Officers apoyntid to geaue theyre Attend*a*unce on the lord*es* Spyrituall & Temporall syttinge at the myddle bourde on the Quenes right hand / wherof the fyrst Bourde to be of xj^the^ yard*es* of lengthe / to be ser*u*id ij of like fare, & xxx^tie^ of another fare / . . . .

Conveyers Thom*as* Childe, Thom*as* Hynde, Will*ia*m Bermay — Conveyors for the Almners
Surveyors Thom*as* Halle——*w*ithout the dresser
Will*ia*m Thynne——*w*ithin the dresser

I *e.* By 1536 Thynne is "clerc comptroller of the king*es* hon*er*able housholde," as we see by the following contract with a Scourer of Sinks:

Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 9835, *leaf* 21.

M*emorandum* the xvjth day of Aprell the xxvij^t^ yere of the reigne of Kinge Henry the viij, that Joh̃n Wylkynson of busshopgate strete in london, scourer of Synk*es*, hathe convenanted and bargayned w*ith* Edmunde Pekham, Cofer*er*, Thom*as* Hatterlyf and Edwarde Weldon, clerk*es* of the *gre*necloth, & **William Thynne, clerc comptroller of the kinges hon*er*able housholde** / that he the saide Joh̃n Wilkynson, for the wag*es* of xxvj s viij d, and oon cote clothe, color red, of the price of v s, viij d, to be paied and geven vnto hym yerely, the saide wag*es* to be to hym q*ua*rterly paid by even porcionz / shall scoure, clense, and substancially make clene, all & euery of the Synk*es* belonginge vnto the kechyns w*ith*in any of the king*es* houses at Wyndesor, Rychemont, Hamptoncourt the more, Westm*inster*, grenewiche, & Eltham, euery q*ua*rter of the yere, oone tyme yerely / if that he so often shalbe com-manded, by any of the officers aboue mencyoned, to do the same; & if he shall at any tyme refuse so to do, then he to haue his q*ua*rter wag*es*, or more, as the case shall requyre, defaulted & taken away / In wittyness herof the saide Joh̃n Wilkinson, to this agreament hathe putto his m*er*ke, the daye & yere aboue wrytten /

On Aug. 10, 1538, the King granted Wm Thynne—by his old title 'clerc of the kechyn'—six of his best oaks at Falborn:—

Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 9835, *leaf* 20.

I woll and chardge you that ye deliuer or cause to be deliuered vnto my lovinge frinde Will*ia*m Thynne, chief clerc of the kechyn w*ith* the king*es* grace, or vnto the bringer herof in his name, six okes of my best and principallist tymbre, w*ith* the tops and lops, to be taken of my

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gieft[1] within my woodes growinge in my parc of Falborne, beinge in your kepinge, any restrainct or commaundement what soeuer it be by me made to the contrary herof notwithstandinge; & this my writinge subscribid with my hande shalbe your sufficient warraunt and dischardge in that behalf. Yeouen at the kinges mannour of Wodsor, the x day of August the xxviij yere of the reigne of our souuerayn lorde kinge henry theight

To the keper of my parke of Falborne, and in his absence, to his deputie there.

In the Ordinances for the Household of Henry VIII in the Harleian MS. 642, &c.,[2] printed in the volume of *Household Ordinances* issued by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790, William Thynne is mentiond by name four times: first in 1538, *H. Ord.*, p. 217:

"Articles devised for the Purveyor of Ale, and the Brewers, for the well serving of the Kings Highnesse for his Beere and Ale, ordained and established by Sir William Paulet, Knight, Treasurer of the Household, Sir John Russell, Knight, Comptroller of the same, Edmond Peckham Esq., Coferer, Thomas Hatcliffe, and Edward Weldon, Clerkes of the Greencloth, and **William Thynne, Clerke Comptroller in the Compting-House**,[3] at the Kings mannor of Hampton Court,[4] the 20th day of December in the 30th yeare of our said Soveraignes Reigne" [A.D. 1538].

Secondly, in 1542, as one of the obligees of a Bond enterd into by the Wardens of the Poultry (Poulterers' Company, I suppose[5]) with the Controller and four other Officers of the King's Household, to ensure the sale to the Wardens, at fixt prices, of the surplus stock of the King's Purveyor of Poultry, and also the buying by him of the Wardens, at the same fixt prices, such poultry as the King needed (*H. Ord.* p. 222):—

[1] MS. giest.

[2] References to the original MSS. are not put in the printed volume. Miss Smith and I can't find most of the following extracts in Harl. 642.

[3] I put Thynne's name, and 'Clerk Comptroller' in after extracts, in Clarendon type, that it may catch the reader's eye, not to show any difference in the original.

[4] I conclude, from the *Household Ordinances* generally, that Thynne was Clerk-Comptroller at other Palaces than Hampton-Court; but I can't prove it. These 'Articles' show that at Greenwich there were other such Clerks in April 12, 32 Hen. VIII, A.D. 1541: see *H. Ord.*, p. 218:—

"Item, allowance to be given by the assent of Mr Coferer, Mr Edward Weldon, Master of the Household, *Robert Pageman and Anthony Bricks, Clerkes Comptrollers*, at Greenwitch, the 12th day of April, Anno 32° Henrici VIII. unto Thomas Playfoote, Yeoman-Pigtaker, for every Neale, being fatt and good, as well great as small, that he shall send into the Larder, one with another, 4s. peice; and neither more nor lesse." [? Neale.]

[5] In the Condition of the Bond they are calld "Wardens of the Mystrey and Occupacion of Poulters in London."

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"Prises limitted by the foresaid Lord Great Master, and others, to be received and paid betwixt William Gurley aforesaid and the Wardens of the Poultry of London, as well for such Poultry-stuff as the said William shall buy of any of the said Fellowship of Poultry for the furniture of his proporcion, when need shall be, as alsoe for such Poultry-stuff as the said William shall deliver unto the said Wardens, when and as often as he shall have any Stuff remaineing in his hands, more than shall be needful for the furnishing of his said proporcion, as followeth. And the same to performe, they, by this Recognizance following, are bound from time to time soe to doe.

"Memoran*dum*, q*uo*d die Lune, tertio die mensis Aprilis, anno 33° Henrici 8^vi^. [A.D. 1542], Thom*as* Fisher Will*elmus* Mathew, W*illel*m*us* Lytchfield, Gardian*i* Misterii seu occupationis vocat*e* Pulterers Civitat*is* Londinensis, venerunt coram Johann*e* Gage, Milit*e*, Contra-rotulatore Hospitii D*omi*ni Regis, Thomæ Weldon, **Gulielmo Thynne**, Jacob*o* Sutton et Anth*onio* Bucks, apud Westm*instre*, et recognoverint cuilibet eorum debere D*omi*no Regi decem Libras, solvend*as* in bona et legali moneta Anglie proximo futur*o* post datum presenti, ad opus et usum dicti D*omi*ni Regis Hen*rici* 8^vi^, sub condic*i*one sequente."

Thirdly, evidently in the same year 1542 (*H. Ord.* p. 226), in

"A Composition made betwixt Sir Edmond Peckham, Knight, Officer[1] of the Kings Most honourable Household, **Wm Thynne**, and other Officers of the Greencloth, on the behalfe of our Souveraigne Lord the King, and one Thomas Hewyt of Hythe in Kent, for the better serving his Majestie, and his Household, of Sea-Fish to be by him provided and made in the places hereafter expressed, that is, Lydd, Hythe, Folkston, Romney, and soe to the chamber point, at convenient prices, viz."

Fourthly, in 1545, at the end of "An Order of the 18th day of January, Anno 33° Hen. VIII [A.D. 1542] for washing and cleane keeping of the Napery which shall serve for the Kings owne table", is (*H. Ord.* p. 216),

"Item, it was agreed by Mr Cofferer, **Mr Thyne**, and others of the Greencloth, that the Cofferers Clerke that rideth to pay Carriages shall have 8d. p*er* day, at such time as he wayteth for the payment of Carriages (the Cofferer being absent from the Court, nor his chamber having none allowance), at Hampton-Court, the 28th day of December, Anno 37° H. VIII." (22 April 1545 to 21 April 1546.)

Assuming, then, that the words "and others of the Greencloth" in the last quotation, do not imply that William Thynne had changd his post of one of the two Clerks Controllers of the Counting-house (that is, Examiners of the accounts of the Officers of the King's Household, and Superintendents of the kitchen and offices generally) for the nearly-allied

[1] ? for 'Coferer'

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one of Clerk of the Greencloth (in which he'd have been concernd more with entering and posting the accounts that the Clerks Comptrollers passt), let us take out the particulars of the duties, in 1540 A.D., of our 'Clerke Comptroller.' The editor,[1] like his author, lookt after accounts; and even as Chaucer wrote with his own hand counter-rolls of wool-fells and hides, if not of wine and groceries too, at the Custom-House in Thames St, London, so Thynne may there also, as Collector of Customs, have written like accounts; and he must have examind and passt the accounts of the Household Officers for meat, fowls, fish, &c., for King and Queen, at Windsor, Westminster, Hampton-Court and other dwellings royal. (See *H. Ord.*, p. 228—231.)

"Ordinances appointed for all Officers of Household, upon the makeing an Establishment of the new[2] Booke of Household, made by the Kings Majesty in the 31st yeare of his most Gracious Reigne. [22 April 1539, to 21 April 1540.]

"The Compting-House.

"First, That the Lord Great Master, the Treasurer and Comptroller of the Kings Household, or one of them at the least (other great causes of Councell not letting), shall be dayly in the Compting-house between the hours of 8 and 9 in the morning, calling unto them the Cofferer, Clerke of the Greencloth, and one of the **Clerkes-Comptrollers** at the least, the other being occupied in the Kings Service otherwise; and to sitt and to have brought before them all the Bookes of briefments of all the Officers of the Household for the day before passed; and in case they shall find any wastfull expences to have been made by any Minister in his Office, that then he, by whom such wast hath been made, to be called before the said Officers, to make answer to the same; and as he or they shall be thought culpable, soe to be punished therefore, as shall be thought necessary or meete by the said Officers.[3]

Between 8 and 9 A.M. daily, one Clerk-Comptroller is to assist his superior Officer in examining the day-before's accounts,

that waste may be checkt,

and the waster punisht.

[1] William Thynne had at least one fellow-writer in the King's household. "Bryan Anslay, yeoman of the siller with the eyght kinge Henry," translated *The Cyte of Ladyes* (H. Pepwell, 1521), from the French of Cristine de Pise (?): see my *Captain Cox*, 1871, p. xliii, clxxvi.

[2] The old book, or the "Ordinances made at Eltham in 17 Hen. VIII." (1526 A.D.) say only (*H. Ord.*, p. 140),

"Item, it is ordeyned that the clerkes of the Greenecloath, or one of them, be dayly attendant in the compting-house for the engrossment of dayly bookes of the expences of the day before, in the time of the household keeping; according to the old usage and auntient customes of the King's house.

"Item the chiefe clerke of comptrollment to be there in like wise for the oversight and comptrolling of the said booke."

[3] The Cofferer's duties follow.

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Clerk-Comptrollers, &c., to be daily in the Compting-house, and at the Greencloth from 8 to 9 A.M., to examine the day-before's accounts of all Household Officers,

(p. 229) The Clerkes of the Greencloth, and **Clerkes Comptrollers**, in the absence of the great officers, shall be dayly in the Compting-house, and to sitt at the Greencloth between the houres of eight and nine in the Morning; and to cause to be brought before them the Bookes and Breifments of all Officers of Household, for the expences of the said Household for the day before passed; and to peruse the same substantially, in considering whether any wastfull expences have been made in any

to check wasteful expenses,

of the said Offices, or not; and in case any such wast shall be found to have been made, that then they doe call before them the Officers who had the ministration of the said Office where such wast hath been made, to answer unto

and punish the offenders.

the same; and to punish them for their offence done therein, as by their discretion shall be thought fitt.

One Clerk Comptroller to be daily in the Larder,

Item, the said Clerkes of the Greencloth and **Clerkes-Comptrollers**, or two of them at the least, that is to say one Clerke of the Greencloth, and one **Clerke-Comptroller**, shall be dayly in the Larder, as well to view and

see that Victuals are good,

see that the Victualls be good, sweete, and meete to serve the Kings Highnesse and the Queens Grace withall, as

and given to the Cook.

alsoe to see the deliverie of the same into the Cookes hands, for the serving of the Kings Grace, the Queens, and Household.

Clerk-Comptroller to see that the King's and Queen's food is well cookt

Item, the said Clerkes of the Greencloth, and **Clerkes-Comptrollers**, and Clerke of the Kitchen, shall as well give great charge dayly to the Cookes for the well dressing of the Kings Meate, and the Queenes; and also to see the said Meate sett out at the Dresser dayly, at every Meale, like as it was put into the Cookes hands; and to attend and follow the same at every Meale, and at every

and not stolen;

Course. [for fear the Cook should steal any, or any man run away with the dishes from the dresser: see *H. Ord.* p. 37, 45.]

also that disorders in the Household be reformd;

Item, the said Clerkes of the Greencloth and **Clerkes-Comptrollers**, shall see that all the disorders of the Household shall be reformed as much as they conveniently may, in punishing the offenders thereof according to their merretts.

that no strangers be allowd at meals.

Item, the said Clerkes of the Greencloth and **Clerkes-Comptrollers**, shall weekly, once or twice in the weeke, view all the Offices and Chambers of the Household, to see if there be any Strangers eating in the said Offices or Chambers at the Meale times, or at any other time, contrary to the Kings Ordinance; and in case they shall finde any offending therein, to make relation thereof to the Souveraignes of the House.

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And that the Chamberlaines of the Kings side and of the Queenes shall cause like search to be made within all the Chambers belonging to every of their sides; and if they shall finde any disorders therein, then they to see the same reformed, as it shall require.

The Chamberlains to search their chambers,

and reform abuses.

[DUTIES OF THE CLERKS OF THE GREENCLOTH (*put-in as Thynne* may *have been a Clerk*).]

The Clerke of the Greencloth shall sitt dayly in the Compting-house at the Greencloth, there to ingrosse and cast up all the particular Breifments of the House after they shall be comptrolled, and the same, soe cast up, to enter in the Parchment docquett called the Maine Docquet; and the same Docquet so entred and engrossed, to remaine in the Compting-house for record, without taking it away from thence by any officers.

Greencloth-Clerk to sit in the Counting-house, and engross and cast up daily all examind accounts,

and enter them in the *Main Docquet*.

Item, that they do monthly, within six dayes after the expirement of every Moneth, call into the Compting-house the parcells indented of all the particular provisions, made in every Office of the Household, for the expence of the said Household for the month passed; and after they have been perused and seen by the **Clerke-Comptroller**, then they to engrosse them up, and to enter them into their Ledger, called the Booke of Foote of Parcells.

Then to make up Monthly Accounts of all stores for the Household,

submit 'em to the Clerk-Comptroller,

and put 'em in the ledger or *Book of Foot of Parcels*.

Item, that they shall yearly make the Cofferers booke of Accompt for the expence of the Yeares passed, soe the same may be made perfect to be put into the Exchequer yearly, within the terme of St Hillary, upon paine to lose one Quarters Wages, defaulting the same.

Then to make a Yearly Account of the cost of the Household for the Exchequer.

Item the said Clerkes of the Greencloth shall safely keep all their Bookes concerning their Office, after they have ingrossed them up, privately to themselves, without the view or sight of them to any other Officer unto the yeares end. And the said Booke shall be examined with the Accomptants and particular Clerkes for the perfecting of the same. And likewise shall the **Clerks Comptrollers** and Clerkes Accomptants order all their Bookes touching their Offices.

Greencloth-Clerks to keep their books private,

and have 'em examind yearly by Accountants.

Clerks Comptrollers' books to be kept and examind.

Item, that they shall make every halfe yeare a view of the expence of the Household, that it may be seen what the Charge thereof amounteth to for the said half yeare.

Greencloth clerks to make a Half-Yearly view of Household expenses.

[*The Clerks-Comptrollers' Duties again.*]

The **Clerkes Comptrolers**, or one of them, shall dayly, as well view the Kings Chamber and the Queens, as all the Offices of the Household, to advise and see the absence or attendance of all them which be appointed under check of Household, and not onely to default and

Clerk-Comptrollers

to check the attendance of Household Officers,

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dock the wages of absentees,

and of those Officers who don't dine and sup in the King's or Queen's Chamber as they're orderd to.[1]

check the Wages of all such as he shall finde to be absent without lycence, but also to default and check the Wages of all them which be in the House, who by the Kings order should sitt at Dinner and Souper within the Kings Chamber, and the Queens, and do note, but be absent from thence without lycence, soe to be eating in places contrary to the Kings Ordinances, and against his honour.

To note daily whether any extra servants,

strangers or vagabonds, are in the Household Offices.

If so, to have 'em turnd out by the Head of the Office.

Item, the said **Clerkes-Comptrollers**, in soe peruseing the house dayly, shall note well in everie Office, if that there be any more number of Servants in any of the said Offices then is appointed to be by the Kings Ordinances, or else any Strangers or Vagabonds within the same; and in case he shall find any such, that then he for the first time shall admonish and warne the Serjeant, or in his absence, the Hedd of the same Office, who shall give attendance where such shall be found, that they be avoyded, and no more thither to resort; and being after of new there found againe after such warning given, that then everie of the said Servants or Hedd of the Office to be checked of two dayes wages, for every time being soe found culpable.

To make quarterly a *Check Roll*

of all the Household (?)

and the wages of attendants.

Item, the said **Clerkes-Comptrollers** shall make for every Quarter in the Yeare, a Roule of Parchment that shall be called the Check-Roll, which shall containe the names of all them which shall be of the Ordinarie, and within the Check of the Household; and dayly to present in the same Roule the allowance of the Wages of all them which shall be attendant, and the defaulkation and check of Wages of all them which shall be absent.

One Clerk Comptroller

to inspect Daily all provisions,

reject all that are bad,

and report the Purveyors,

that they may be punisht.

Item, the said **Clerkes-Comptrollers**, or one of them at the least, shall be at the Green-Cloth with other Officers, as is before mentioned; and one of them dayly to see the *Venit* and comeing in of all Provisions in every Office of the Household; discreetly adviseing that the said Provisions be good stuff, and meete to be spent within the House for the Kings honour, or else to reject and returne it back again unto the Purveyors, and to make relation thereof at the Greencloth of the badnesse of the stuff; to the intent that the Purveyors which brought in the same may be punished as they shall deserve in that behalfe, soe disappointing the House.

To enter all good provisions

And that the said **Clerkes-Comptrollers**, upon the view and sight of the comeing in of the said premises being good stuff, shall make Entry and Record of the same into

[1] Absence from the public Hall, and taking meals in private rooms, was a great offence. See *H. Ord.* p. 153.

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the Booke of Records, and to bring it to the Greencloth, and there to allow as much of the same as shall be brought in and spent; and if any more shall be presented in any Breifments then by his Record shall appeare to have been spent; then he to controule the same, giveing noe larger allowance than there ought to be.

in the *Book of Records*,

and by it check all accounts.

Item, the said **Clerkes-Comptrollers** shall dayly take the Infra et Extra of the Wexe in the Office of the Chaundry, to try the expence of the same, and to give allowance accordingly; and at such times as the Remaines shall be in the Offices of the Pantry, Cellar, and Buttry, by the Clerke of the Kitchen, that then the **Clerkes-Comptrollers** to goe with him to take the said Remaines to be advouched with him, what the expence shall rise to.

To check the consumption of wax in the Chandry,

and take the Clerk of the Kitchen's remains of wax.

Item, the said **Clerkes-Comptrollers** shall sitt at the Greencloth, as well to passe the price of Poultry-stuff, Fresh-water Fish, and other Victualls spent; as alsoe giveing allowance of all the Polls in the Pantry-Roule, Kitchen-Roule, Poultry-Bills, Spicery-Docquets, and other particular Breifments of the Household, and alsoe the particular parcells of all the Household, takeing the advice of the other Officers sitting in the Greencloth, in cases where need shall require.

To pass the price of fish and victuals,

the bills (?) of the Pantry, Kitchen,

and rest of the Household.

Item, one of the **Clerkes-Comptrollers** shall dayly see the Fees which the Officers of the House shall have, or that they shall take out of the House, to view whether they be more largely taken than they ought to be, or not; and if he shall so finde it, to punish the offenders thereof. And if any Officer presume to take any Fee away before they have been viewed by one of the **Clerkes-Comptrollers**, that then they that soe shall doe, shall loose the Fee soe taken for ever after.

To view all Officers' fees

and let no fee go until viewd.

Item, the said **Clerkes-Comptrollers**, by the advice of the Officers of the Greencloth, shall passe all the Bills of allowance, as well for Wages and Boardwages, as other Provisions and Necessaries; and all such Bills by them soe passed to enter into their standing Ledger there to remaine as matter of Record.

To pass all bills for wages, boardwages, provisions and necessaries, and post them in the *Ledger*.

Item, the said **Clerkes-Comptrollers** shall yearly make the Booke of Comptrollment, with the Comptrollers of the Household, which shall be put yearly into the Exchequer, to be advoucht to the Cofferers account.

To make the yearly *Book of Controlment* for the Exchequer.

From an Ordinance, seemingly "by command of the Lord Great Master and Mr Comptroller, at Wyndsor, the 13th of November, Anno 32°" (A.D. 1540; *H. Ord.* p. 211), it appears that there were two "Clerks Comptrollers," who workt six weeks by turns, and when not on

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duty lodgd outside the Court, that "the Kings house shall be the lesse pestered," and were allowd 6*s.* 8*d.* a day as board-wages for themselves and their servants instead of their Bouge of Court, or allowances of food, &c., when in the Court:—

Item, the allowance of boardwages to be given to the Masters of the Household, the Clerks of the Greencloth, and to the Clerke-Comptroller, to every of them being lodgd without the Court gate, and have noe meate or driuke, or being out of the Court by command; for everie day, 6*s.* 8*d.*

Item, to every of them being sick, for every weeke 10*s.* . . . .

[A.D. 1545] Item, it is agreed by the Lord Great Master, and other officers of the Compting house, the day of March in the 36th yeare of the Kings Majesties Raigne, that there be one chamber appointed for two Masters of the household, whereof one to be of the King's side, the other to be of the Queen's side; and they to waite in the Court six weekes; and one other chamber to be appointed for one of the Clerks Comptrollers, and they to waite in the Court in the like manner, by the said space; soe that by this meanes the bookes may be dayly engrossed by ten of the clock before noone; which doeing shall be greatly to his Majesties proffitt. And the other two Masters of the Household, one Clerke of the Greencloth, and one Clerke Comptroller, to be with their servants and stuff out of the Court by the said space; whereby the King's house shall be the lesse pestered, and the lodgings easyer for the King's traine. And furthermore, the said two Masters of household, and one Clerke of the Greencloth, and one the Clerke Comptroller, that doth waite the six weekes in the Court, shall not depart from thence after the expirement of the said time, before they present to my Lord Great Master, Mr Treasurer and Comptroller, or to him whom they shall appoint in their absence, the whole of the expence of the said six weekes that they have waited in the Court; and the other two Masters of the household, one Clerke of the Greencloth, one Clerke Comptroller, that shall be from the Court, to have boardwages for themselves and their servants, in the time of their being out of the Court, 6*s.* 8*d.* *per* the day to everie four. And notwithstanding the said boardwages, the King's Majesty shall save four messes dayly of the dietts and Bouche of Court of the said four persons; which will amount to the sume of 536l. 10s. 7d. yearly.

We now come to Thynne's food when he was at Court. This is given in the Eltham Ordinances of 1526, at p. 177-8 of the *Household Ordinances*. He had a capital hot dinner and supper, of two courses each daily, as well on fish-Fridays as other days, except Saturday, when he seems to have had no dinner provided for him.

A Diett for two Messes to the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber; one double Messe to the Cofferer; four Messes to the Masters of Household; two Messes to the Clerke of the Greencloth; two Messes to the Clerkes Comptrollers; and one Messe to the Clerke of the Kitchen, of like fare; in all twelve Messes.

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Sonday, Tuesday, or Thursday, Monday, or Wednesday

Dynner

1st Course.

		d.		d.
Bread Cheat and Manchett	9	4½	9*	4½
Ale	4 gall'	6	4 gall'	6
Wyne	pich[r]	6	1 pich[r]	6
† Beefe	1 mess	6	1 mess	6
Mutton	1	3	1	3
† Veale	1	4	1	4
Capons	2	12	2	12
Conyes	1	6	1	6
† Fryaundes	1	8	1	8

2d Course.

		d.		d.
Lambe, Chicken, † Pegeon	1 mess	6	1 mess	6
Cocks, Plovers †	1 mess	14	1 mess	14
Tarte	1	8	1	8
Fruite	1	4	1	4
Butter		6		6

Souper

1st Course.

		d.		d.
Bread Cheat and Manchet	9	4½	9*	4½
Ale	4 gall'	6	4 gall'	6
Wyne	1 pich[r]	6	1 pich[r]	6
† Flesh for pottage	1 mess	1	1 mess	1
Mutton boyled	1 mess	3	1	3
† Mutton rost	2 mess	6	2	6
Capons	1	12	1	12
Conyes	1	6	1	6
† Dowcetts	1	8	1	8

2d Course.

		d.		d.
Lambe, Chicken, † or Rabbet	1 mess	8	1 mess	7
Cock, Plovers, † Teales	1 mess	12	1 mess	12
Tarte	1	8		
Fruite	1	4	1	4
Butter			6	6

	s.	d.
Sum of Sonday	15	2
Monday	14	8½

(I can't make these totals out of the figures.)

Fryday Dinner.

1st Course.

		d.
Bread Cheat and Manchett	9	4½
Ale	4 gall'	6
Wyne	1 pich[r]	6
Lyng	1 mess	4
Pikes	1	14
Salmon	1	12
Playce, Gurnard	1	12
Haddock, or Whiting	1	8

2d Course.

		d.
Tench, Trowte	1 mess	12
Eles with Lamprells	1	12
Tarte	1	8
Fruite	1	4
Butter		4
Egges		2½
Sum		8s. 9½

Saturday Supper.

1st Course.

		d.		d.
Bread Cheat and Manchett	9	4½	9	4½
Ale			4 gall'	6
Wyne	1 pich[r]	6	1 pich[r]	6
Lyng	1 mess	4	1 mess	4
Pikes	1	14	1	14
Salmon	1	12	1	12
Place, Gurnard	1	12	1	12
Haddock, or Whyting	1	8	1	8

2d Course.

		d.		d.
Tench, Troute	1 mess	12	1 mess	12
Eles with Lamprells	1	12	1	12
Tarte	1	8	1	8
Fruite	1	4	1	4
Butter		3		3
Egges		2½		2½
				18s.

Sum of the Charge of these Messes, every Messe rated at,	*per diem*	14	6½	plus in *septimana* ⅛
	per septimanam	5	1	8½
	per annum	255	3	4⅛

* I don't know why the columns are doubld.
† The dishes chang'd in the list are daggerd.

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Besides these two heavy meals a day, William Thynne had "Bouche[1] of Court," or "sizings" as we might say, allowances for breakfast, for a snack between dinner and supper, and a refresher after supper (the day's drink being 3 gallons of ale and half a pitcher of wine), lights, and fuel. These are given in "The Ordinances made at Eltham in the XVIIth year of King Henry VIII." A.D. 1526, as follows (*H. Ord.* p. 163[2]):

Knights, and others of the Kings councell, Knights wives, Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, the Cofferer, Master of the Household, Clerkes of the Green-cloth, Clerkes Comptrollers, and Clerkes of the Kitchen.

Everie of them being lodged within the courte, for their Bouch in the morning, one chet loafe, one manchet, one gallon of ale; for afternoone, one manchett, one gallon of ale; for after supper, one manchett, one gallon of ale, dim*idium* pitcher wyne; and from the last day of October unto the first day of Aprill, three lynkes by the weeke; by the day one prickett, one sise, dim*idium* pound white lightes, four talshides, four faggots, and . . . . [? some coals]; and from the last day of March unto the first day of November, to have the moyety of the said waxe, white lights, wood and coales; which doth amount by the yeare to the sume of xx *l.* xiii *s.*

Lastly in the same Eltham Ordinances of 1526 A.D. we find that William Thynne was allowd stabling for four horses in the King's stable, and one bed for his servant (*H. Ord.* p. 198):

Thappointment of herbigage to be ordinarie for all Noble Estates and others, as followeth; as well for stabling for theire horses, as for lodging and beds for theire servants: Appointed by the Kings Highness at his Mannor of Eltham, the 19th day of January in the 17th Yeare of his noble Reigne....

	Horses	Bedds
The Clerke Comptroller, stabling for	4	1

In 1546, three months before Wm Thynne's death, he made to his friend William Whorwood, out of his keepership of Beaudley Park granted to him on Aug. 20, 1528,—see p. xxi above,—the following grant of his perquisite of a buck in summer and a doe in winter:

Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 9835, *leaf* 17, *back.*

To all christen people to whom this present writing shall come, here, or see, **William Thynne, Esquier**, sendithe greating in our Lorde god euer

[1] A mouthful, let's say. '*Avoir bouche à Court;* To eat and drinke scot-free; to haue budge-a-Court, to be in ordinarie at Court.'—Cotgrave, A.D. 1611.

[2] The less Bouche for "the Compting House" on p. 164 must be that of some lower men of that office.

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lastyng! Where befor this tyme the King*es* Maiestie, by his *lett*res patent*es* Sealed vnder his great Seale of England, did geue and graunte vnto me, the said Will*iam* Thynne, for terme of my life, thoffice of the Keping of the King*es* maiesties p*ar*ke of Beawdeley, by Reason whereof I, the same Wil*liam* Thynne, according to the Auncient Custum*me* of Kep*er*s and Raungers of fores*tes*, p*ar*kes and chases, am intitled, or ought to haue, yerely during the tyme that I shalbe Kep*er* of the said p*ar*ke as is afforsaid, w*ith*in the said p*ar*ke a Bucke in somer and a Dooe in wynt*er*, as the Kep*er*s ther in tyme past hathe bene accustumed to haue and take / Knowe ye, me the said **Will*iam* Thynne**, to haue geuen and graunted, and by thes present*es* doo geue and graunte vnto my loving frinde Will*iam* WHorwood esquier, yerely the sayd terme / A Bucke in somer, & a Dooe in wynter, to be had and taken w*ith*in the said p*ar*ke, To haue, take, receeyue & Inyoye vnto the said Will*iam* Whorwood and his assignes yerely during suche tyme as the said Will*iam* Thynne shalbe Kep*er* of the said p*ar*ke. And that for none delyu*er*ey therof, it shalbe lawfull to the said Will*iam* Whorwood and his Assignes, during the terme aboue mencioned, to enter into the said p*ar*ke yerely, & the said Bucke in som*er* and Dooe in winter, yerely w*ith* dogges and Bowes, at his or ther pleasure, to take, chasce, kill and kary awaye / In witnesse wherof, I the said Will*iam* Thynne, to this my writing I haue put my seale the xijth day of Maiye in the xxxvjth yere of the Raygne of our sou*er*aygne Lorde, King Henry the eight.

I*f*. The next notice we have of William Thynne is of his death, and his tomb in the Church of All Hallows, Barking.

In Anthony Munday's 1618 edition of Stowe's *Survey of London* is given the inscription on William Thynne's monument. He says:—

"Upon a very faire marble stone, verged about with plates of brasse, and concluding with the like plates, in the middle is thus engraven: 'Pray for the soule of Mr William Thinne, esquire, one of the Masters of the honourable household to King Henrie the 8, our soveraigne Lord. He departed from the prison of this fraile life the 10. day of August, An. Dom. 1546, in the 38 yeere of our said soveraigne Lord the King; which body, and every part thereof, in the last day shall be raised up againe, at the sound of the Lord's trumpet. In whose comming, that we may all joyfully meet him, our heavenly Father grant us, whose mercy is so great towards us, that he freely offereth to all them that earnestly repent their sins, everlasting life, through the death of his dearly beloved sonne Jesus, to whom be everlasting praise. Amen.'"

(An epitaph remarkably characterized by the orthodox tenets of the Reformation, though commencing with the old formula, Pray for the soul, &c.—J. G. Nichols, in *Stemmata Botevilliana*, p. cccvi. The epitaph is also printed there, and at p. 29.)

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To Col. Chester's kindness I owe the following copy of the Will of William Thynne, dated Nov. 16, 1540:

"In the name of god, Amen! I, Wylliam Thynne, Being of good memorye, in manner and fourme followyng Do make this my Laste will and testament: ffirst, I bequethe my Soule to my swete savior Ihesus Criste, my only Redemer and Sauyor, And to the hole holly company of heuen, of the whiche, In faiethe I beleue to be one of them, throwghe the merytes of Christis Passion, and no otherwyse: my boddye to be buryed where yt shall please my wyfe. All my goodes, movable and vnmovable, Leases of Fermes, Debtes, and all other thinges whiche I nowe haue intrest in, or hereafter maye haue eny intrest in, I geue to my wyfe Anne Thynne, And she to depart[1] with her childrene at her owne will and pleasure, and no otherwyse. And I do make my saide wyfe, Anne, my only executrix, and praying her to be good mother to my childrene and hers. And I make Mr Edmunde Peckham, cofferer of the kinges housholde,[2] and John Thynne my nephewe, my ouerseers, hertely praying them to be my poore wyfes comforde and helpe in her nede and necessitie, in defending her in her nede; And in this Doing, I bequethe either of them one standing Cupp of Syluer, and gilte, with a couer. And I geue to Thomas ffysher, my seruaunt, a dublet of crymsen satten. In witnes that this is my last will, I haue to this presentes putto[3] my seale, and also subscribed my name, the xvi Daye of Nouember in the xxxijth yere of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Lorde King Henrye theight. By me, William Thynne."

The Will was prov'd in the Prerogative Court of the Archbp of Canterbury, on the 7th of Sep. 1546, by Wm Walker, proctor for Anne, the relict and executrix. Anne Thynne the widow afterwards marrid, first, Sir Edward Broughton, and then Mr Hugh Cartwright, and died without having made a Will. She was not burid by Wm Thynne.

"[4] On 5 June 1572, letters of Administration were granted to Elizabeth Pygott, alias Thynne, (through Francis Thynne, Gent., her proctor,[5]) to administer the goods of her mother 'Anne Thynne, alias Dame Boughton, alias Cartwright,' who was, while she lived, the relict and executrix of Wm Thynne deceased. These letters were revoked, and new ones granted, on Jan. 24 1573-4, to Francis Thynne, Gentleman, son of the deceased. Both in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury."

1*g*. Though Wm Thynne is not by 1532 Clerk Controller,—or Examiner of the accounts, and Superintendent of the Officers, of the

[1] that is, part, divide, share.

[2] He is nam'd before at Anne Boleyn's Coronation-feast, &c. p. xxvii, xxviii, xxix, xxx. Sir John Thynne (p. xliii) was William Thynne's nephew, and is, I suppose, the one appointed 'ouerseer.'

[3] put to. [4] By Col. Jos. L. Chester. [5] ? A cousin.

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King's Household—with only half his time taken-up with his light office-work; well paid, well fed,—but not drinking his 3 gallons of beer and pitcher and a half of wine a day, when on duty, let us hope,—yet he is then Chief Clerk of the King's Kitchen, on speaking and friendly terms with his Royal Master, who took a warm interest in his book, and able no doubt to get plenty of spare time[1] for reading, and for editing his Geoffrey Chaucer's Works. How did he perform his task? He began in the right way, by collecting all the Chaucer MSS. he could find. He got Henry VIII to let him plunder all the abbey Libraries for them (p. 12 below). How he must have rejoict! (I can fancy myself in his place; or even with like power to make Lord Ashburnham hand over his Chaucer MSS. to the British Museum.[2]) In his search he found one MS. with "examinatur, Chaucer" in it—where, oh where is it gone?—and altogether accumulated a treasure of a 'multitude' of copies (p. 6 below). These—say twenty-five, p. 12—he collated (p. 6); but—as Tyrwhitt, Mr Thomas Wright, Prof. Child, Mr Jephson (who did R. Bell's edition), Mr Bradshaw, Dr Richard Morris, Professor Ten Brink, and the Chaucer Society, had unluckily not gone before him—he could only make such use of his priceless materials as his knowledge allowd. He could not distinguish between genuine and spurious Chaucer work, but he could, and did, print a better text of the *Canterbury Tales* than had been given before, besides printing for the first time Chaucer's *Legende*, *Boece*, *Blanche*, *Pity*, *Astrolabe*, and *Stedfastness*. (See p. 7, note 1.)

William Thynne was the first real editor of Chaucer, and deserves the gratitude and respect of every Chaucer student. He must also have been a hater of Romanism and priestcraft, for he put *The Plowmans Tale* into his second edition of Chaucer's Works in 1542. His son—speaking from reports made many years after his father's death—also says that Wm Thynne wanted to put into his first edition a (spurious) *Pilgrims Tale* (see Appendix I. p. 79), exposing and denouncing the abuses of religion, so-calld. He printed it, showd it to Henry VIII, and askt his protection if he publisht it. This, Henry at first promist; but Wolsey prov'd too strong for him, and Thynne had to cancel his

[1] How long daily did his Collectorship of Customs (p. xxii) take him?
[2] See my *Temporary Preface* (Chaucer Soc.), p. 5-6.

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first (or suppos'd Pilgrims-Tale[1]) edition of Chaucer—'beinge printed but with one coolume in a syde' (p. 7, 10 below). But Mr Bradshaw—and no man living is so good a judge—looks on this cancelld edition as 'a flam,' and shows how the report of it arose, p. 75-6 below. At any rate, no scrap of this cancelld edition is known to have come down to our times, though Mr W. C. Hazlitt once told me he recollected seeing at a sale at Sotheby's (? Sir Wm Tite's) some leaves of a one-column black-letter edition of Chaucer, put-in to make up a 2-column edition (see p. xliii). If so, these leaves may perhaps prove to be a bit of William Thynne's first book.

But whether he cancelld an edition unknown to us, or not, Thynne must have soon set to work at the first edition we know, the double-columnd handsome folio of 1532, printed with its fine borderd title-pages of the principal works, by Thomas Godfray at London. Its collation is as follows, showing a cancel or insertion after fol. CC.xix :—

"register, sigs. A—Z, Aa—Zz, Aaa—Uuu, in sixes, except A and Qq which have respectively 4 and 9 leaves."—*Brit. Mus. Catalogue.* Qq iii is leaft or folio'd Fo. CC.xix; then 3 leaves, Qq iiii, 5, 6, have no leaf-marks; Qq 7 is leaft Fo. CC.xx; Qq 8, Fo. CC.xxi; Qq 9, Fo. CC.xxii, and then R i, Fo. CC.xxiii. 3-fourths of the 2nd col. on the back of Qq 6 are filld up with the heading 'The legende of good women,' and ornaments. And it looks as if Wm Thynne had meant to put something else between the *Troylus* and *Legende*, and then had filld up the space with the spurious *Testamente of Creseyde*, sign. Qq iii (Fo. CC.xix.) to Qq 6.

Thynne dedicated his book to Henry VIII, as we have seen (p. xxiv, above); and it must have sold well for those days, as he brought out a second edition of it in 1542. Into this 2nd edition he put the spurious *Plowmans Tale*, after the Parson's Tale (p. 69 below).

1 *k*. *The Pilgrims Tale.* It is a great comfort to have unearthed this, after its supposd loss, due to its being left out of the printed catalogue of Douce's books. But the Tale is poor verse, tho' its subject is one that must always have interest to an Englishman, the corruptions of Romanism at the Reformation time. Unless the two lines by which Tyrwhitt fixt the date of the Tale to 1536-40 are an insertion—as they

[1] We find a separate edition of the *Plowmans Tale*, the same type and size as Thynne's first edition of 1532, which looks as if he had intended to include it in that, and was overborne for some reason. He did include it in his second edition.—H. Bradshaw.

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very well may be—we must accept his conclusion (p. 9, *n*. below) that *The Pilgrims Tale* couldn't have been in Wm Thynne's first edition of 1532. This conclusion necessitates the inference that the Tale could never have been proposd for insertion in Wm Thynne's prior cancelld edition (p. 9-10); and that therefore Francis Thynne must have told a wrong story when he reports that Wolsey stopt his father's first one-column edition on account of its containing *The Pilgrims Tale*. Mr Bradshaw has shown with his usual skill—and combination of out-of-the-way facts that he's chanct on in his years of search—how this wrong story must have arisen from Francis Thynne's informants, and himself, having known *The Pilgrims Tale* in the 1-columnd *Courte of Venus*, and the probability that Wolsey (or maybe Cromwell) did object to the insertion in Thynne's 1st ed. of 1532, of the *Plowmans Tale* (also one against the abuses of Papistry) which was actually put into Thynne's 2nd ed. of 1542. It is difficult to resist the arguments of two such Chaucer scholars as Tyrwhitt and Mr Bradshaw. But there is this to be said on Francis Thynne's side: 1. The two date-lines in the Tale may well be an after insertion. The words and run of the lines are to my ear before 1536-40. 2. Tho' Francis Thynne was an infant himself when his father died in 1546, yet he says he got his information from his father's clerks, men "nowe of good worshippe bothe in courte and countrye." He was in close communication with his father's nephew,—who must often have talkt with that father,—Sir John Thynne, the builder of Longleat, an owner of Chaucer MSS., a man high at Court (and likely to know its traditions), the Protector Somerset's trusted counsellor. And lastly, Mr W. C. Hazlitt, and Mr F. S. Ellis (the well-known antiquarian bookseller and publisher, of the firm of Ellis and White), told me some time since, and Mr Hazlitt has lately repeated his conviction, that they saw at Sotheby's sale-rooms at 13 Wellington St., W.C., within the last 2 or 3 years, a 2-columnd folio of Chaucer's Works that had its wanting leaves supplied from some one-columnd edition. Still, at present Wm Thynne's 1-columnd cancelld edition must be held the 'flam' or 'fiction' that Mr Bradshaw has calld it.

The Pilgrims Tale also has interest for its mention of the *Prophecies* of Merlin and other diviners, and the evidence it gives of folk's belief in them in the early part of the 16th century. Of such, in 1524, I quoted

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an amusing [imaginary] instance from Halle's *Chronicle*, p. 675, ed. 1809, in my notes to *Andrew Boorde*, E. E. T. Soc. p. 325,—Prior Bolton of Bartholomew's, Smithfield, who built a house on Harrow hill for fear of a flood,[1]—and I have had lately to collect other notices (*N. Sh. Soc. Trans.* 1875-6, Pt. 1, p. 150-4) to try and ascertain whether Shakspere's 'dangerous' year of *Venus & Adonis*, l. 508, was the wonderful year in which 'no wonder fell' (G. Harvey) of 1588. And in connection with this Prophecy subject[2], I print here the only interpretation I've ever seen of the well-known "sise, the best cast on the dice" saw, printed among other places in my *Ballads from MSS.*, i. 318-19 (and see 377), Ballad Soc. This find was part of the compensation that one got in Dublin[3] this May, for the sea-sickness wrought by those Channel-waves

[1] P.S. I let this stand in order to insert Strype's account of Stowe's correction of it. *Survey*, ed. 1720, p. xvj.

"Our Authors good Judgment and Skill in Antiquity, joyned with an inquisitive Temper, rendred him useful in divers Respects. He was not to be put off with Frauds and Superstitious Fables, commonly imposed upon Men of less Accuracy; but was able to detect and discover them. And as he was a great Lover of Truth, so he was the more inquisitive to find it out: and his Reading and Learning the better enabled him to do it. He confuted the Story of *Edward Hall* in his Chronicle, following a Fable (saith *Stow*) then on foot, concerning one *Bolton*, sometime Prior of St. *Bartholomew*; 'That there 'being Prognostications, that in the Year 1524, there should be such Eclipses 'in Watry Signs, and such Conjunctions, that by Waters and Floods many 'People should perish. Whereupon many removed to high Grounds for fear 'of drowning: And particularly Prior *Bolton* builded him an House upon '*Harrow on the Hill*, and that thither he went, and made provision of all 'things necessary within his House, for the Space of two Months,' &c. This, *Stow* would not let pass without diligent Enquiry; and by credible Information found it not so: and that the Ground of the Story was only this, that this Prior, being Parson of *Harrow*, bestowed some Reparation on the Parsonage-House; and builded nothing else but a Dove-House, to serve him when he had forgone his Priory. Thus *Stow* sifted out Matters, and was not to be carried away by Reports."

[2] See some Prophecies by Welshmen in Appendix V, p. 116.

[3] Another part was, seeing a late paper MS. containing a short alchemical tract attributed—falsely, no doubt,—to CHAUCER.

Trinity Coll. Dublin, MS. D. 2. 8, *page* 147.

Galfridus Chauser his worke.

Take tr. [?] and beate it as thin as yow can: then take aqua vitæ, ∇. viniger distilled, that is, that is Rectefyed, and putt these thynne plates into the ∇. vitæ, and stop fast the glasse with wax, and lett them stande to gether 4 or 5 daies, and the ∇. vitæ will be as white as milke; the[n] power out the ∇ vitæ that is white, from the ledd that Remaines, so sottelly as you can; then still it in balneo, and the ∇ vitæ will destill; & thatt which Remayneth will lye white in the bottome; of the which matter yow must destill a ∇. in drye Δ, and with eayest Δ. thatt you can: 4. or 5. daies itt will be a stilling or more . . .

[8 *leaves: ends with* (*see p. xlv*)]

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that on one's home-coming were determind to try and drive away one's feeling of pleasure[1] after leaving Dublin friends so genial and bright, and Wicklow scenes so fair.

MS. E. 5. 10. *Trin. Coll., Dublin, leaf Cxv.*

i. vulgus

Eu*er*more schalle the [⁝⁝] [2] be the best cast on the dyce.

i. rex i. vulgus

Whan that [·] beryth vp the [⁝⁝], ynglond schal be as p*ar*adice,

i. religiosi i. domini

And [:·:] and [: :] set al on oone syde.

i. vulgus

Tho schal the name of the [:::] spring*e* vond*er* wyde;

i. proditores i. bilingue

[···] set a side and [··] clene schent;

ye schal haue a new king*e* at a new p*ar*leme*n*t;

i. vulgus i. rex

[:::] schal vp, and [·] schal vnd*ur*.

When dede men Ryse, that schal be moch*e* wond*ur*;

The Rede Rose and the flour*e* de lyce, the lock*es* schal vnd*ur*.

vulgus

Yet schal the [:::] ber the pryce, and [·] schal helpe ther to.

No*t*a.

---

now haue yow heard the making of one stone, begynning and ending, and all is one. Finis.

Of course these late attributions of MSS. to Chaucer are quite worthless. Compare Mr Black's *Catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS.*, col. 1213, MS. 1445, no. v. 7.

"Elixer ARNOLDI DE VILLA NOVA. *Take earthe of earthes, and earthes brother*" (89 lines) f. 19ᵇ—20ᵇ.

The last line is—*But take thy beades, and goe praye.* This is part ot "Pearce the Black Monk upon the Elixir," in Ashmole's *Theatrum*, p. 269: but in this MS. a different old hand ignorantly altered the title, given above, to "Galfridus Chawcer his worke."

Fabatus an old consull, but no traueller, speaketh according to his small skill.

[1] To which purpose, Fabatus the consull is worth the noting, who, in seuentie yeares which he liued, departed not once from his village of Regio to go to Messina, which was but two miles off by water. And when one asked him the cause whie: 'The barke (quoth he) is foolish, for it alwaies stirreth vp and downe; the mariner is foolish, for he neuer abideth in one opinion; the water is foolish, for it neuer standeth still; the wind is foolish, for it runneth continuallie. Now if we vse to go from a foole when we meet him vpon the land; what reason were it for me to hazard my life with foure fooles vpon the sea?" *Holinshed*, iii. 1568, col. 2, l. 50—62.

[2] The names are generally written too, 'sise, cinque, quater, trey, deuse, aas (*or* as, ace)'.

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(These two follow, the first being before 1461 A.D. :—

When lord*es* wille is lond*es* law,
Prest*es* wylle trechery, and gyle holde soth saw,
Lechery callyd pryve solace,
And robbery is hold no trespace,
Then schal the lond of Albyon torne in to con*fusion*).
A M[1] CCCC lx and on, few lord*es* or ellys noone.

longe berde herteles
peyntede hoode wytles
Gay cote graceles
maketh engolond̄ þrifles.)

Another interest *The Pilgrims Tale* has, in its many Chaucer phrases, as well from his Tales (of which it quotes a line from the Wife of Bath's) as his Prologue, and its citing 6 lines from the Englisht version of the *Romaunt of the Rose*, formerly, tho' not now, accepted without question as Chaucer's (see l. 741-6, p. 98). Further, a manuscript or black-letter man can never look without sympathy on just a few leaves sav'd from a large book that was once read and car'd for[1] by numbers of his countrymen in Tudor days. Of the *Courte of Venus*, wherein *The Pilgrims Tale* was printed, only the first sheet is known, besides the Tale sheet. Of this, Mr W. Christie-Miller of Britwell has been so kind as to give me a sketch, which is printed in the Notes, p. 141. It is difficult to suppose that this *Courte of Venus* containing *The Pilgrims Tale* can be the same book as Becon refers to in 'The fourthe parte of the booke of Matrimonye,' *Works*, vol. i. Fol. Dclxii back, A.D. 1564 (reference in MS. on p. 1 of the Douce fragment):

Likewise the Lacedemonians bothe banyshed Archilochus the Poet, and also burnt his bookes, althoughe neuer so learned and eloquent, because they woulde not haue the mindes of their youthe and other Citizens corrupted and defiled by the reding of them. These men shall rise vp against vs English men at the day of iudgement, whyche banishe not, nor burn not, but rather Print, publishe, set-forth and sell baudy balades and filthy bookes, vnto the corruption of the reders, as *the court of Venus*, and suche like wanton bookes. Is the commaundement of God geuen by S. Paule thus obserued of vs Englishe men? Let no filthy communication procede out of your mouth, but *that* which is good to edefie withall, as oft as nede is. . . Archilochus. The Court of Venus. Ephe. iiii.

But an earlier edition of the *Court* may not have containd *The Pilgrims Tale*.

[1] The careless printing of *The Pilgrims Tale* shows it to be a reprint.

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II. FRANCIS THYNNE.

II *i*. Though Francis Thynne must have been born in Kent shortly before his father's death in 1546, I find no notice of him earlier than his own recollections of his youth[1], set down in 1586. The second seems to imply that he was then—say at 13 or 14 years old—a scholar at the Cathedral school at Rochester:—

A.D. 1554-7. "The next daie she came to Rochester, and rested foure daies there in an inne called the crowne, the onelie place to interteine princes comming thither; as in my time I haue séene both king Philip & the quéene [Mary] to haue rested themselues there."—*Holinshed*, vol. iii. p. 1494, col. 2, l. 53.

1558. "He [Cardinal Pole] died (as I saie) the same daie wherin the quéene died [Q. Mary, on Thursday, Nov. 17, 1558], the third houre of the night, after that he had liued seuen and fiftie yeares and six moneths, had ruled in the archbishops chaire two yeares seuen moneths thrée wéekes and fiue daies, and had exercised his legantine power four yeares and six daies; whose bodie was first conueied from Lambeth to Rochester, where it rested one night, being brought into the church of Rochester, at the west doore, not opened manie yeres before. *At what time, my selfe, then a yoong scholer, beheld the funerall pompe thereof*, which trulie was great, and answerable both to his birth and calling, with store of burning torches and mourning wéedes. At what time, his coffin being brought into the church, was couered with a cloth of blacke veluet, with a great crosse of white satten ouer all the length and bredth of the same, in the middest of which crosse his cardinals hat was placed." p. 1489, col. 1, l. 36—55

1559. "In which first yeare of hir maiesties reign, falling in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and nine, this lord did most honourablie interteine the quéene with hir traine, at his house of Cobham hall, with sumptuous fare, and manie delights of rare inuention. Amongst which, one comming now to mind, which *I then being yoong beheld*, vrgeth me forward in the setting downe thereof; which was: a banketing house made for hir maiestie in Cobham parke, with a goodlie gallerie therevnto, composed all of greene, with seuerall deuises of knotted flowers, supported one each side with a faire row of hawthorne trées, which nature séemed to haue planted there of purpose in summer time to welcome hir maiestie, and to honor their lord and maister."—*Cont. of Holinshed's Chron.: A treatise of the Lord Cobhams by Fr. Thin.* iii. 1510, col. 2, l. 8-23.

[1] Hearne's Diary, vol. lxiii. p. 118, April 9th, 1717. "Mr Thin, a young scholar, beheld the funeral Pomp of Card. Poole, a°. 1558. See *the* castrated sheets of Holingshede, p. 1489. c. 1." There may be more notices of himself by Thynne than those I quote.

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Under the year 1573, Francis Thynne speaks of Queen Elizabeth's progress through his native county, Kent:

"Of which the quéenes progresse into that countrie (wherein my selfe was borne & bred, and wherein I haue both manie friends & kinred (whome this progresse toucheth) I must aswell (for the loue which I naturallie beare vnto it, as for the courtesie I dailie receive in it) leaue some memorie to posteritie. Thus therefore I enter into her maiesties progresse into that countrie."—*Holinshed*, iii. 1493, col. 2, l. 30-6.

II*j*. *Francis Thynne marri'd* (*at about* 19), *and improvident.*

Though Francis Thynne expressly tells us that he "was never brought up in any Vniversitie" (p. lxi, below), Anthony Wood claims him for Oxford[1]. His own words in 1600 to the Chancellor, Sir Thomas Egerton, seem to imply that they were at Lincoln's Inn together—"those yonger yeares when Lincolns Inn societie did linke vs all in one cheyne of Amitie" (p. ciii, below). Yet Thynne's name is not in the Lincoln's Inn books, as Mr Doyle the Steward, and I, can testify, though "Thomas Egerton" is there as admitted in the 2nd year of Elizabeth's reign (17 Nov. 1559 to 16 Nov. 1660). The "Lincolns Inn societie" must mean only that Thynne associated with Egerton and his barrister friends.

[2] "In 1564, both parties being under age, Francis Thynne married Elizabeth, one of the natural daughters of Thomas De la Ryves of Bransby, in the county of York, by whom he obtained some property at Brafferton and Skewsby in the same County. By the Articles of Marriage he bound himself in a penalty of 1000 marks, among other covenants, to settle, upon his own coming of age, a jointure of 100 marks a year upon his wife. It does not appear how he got into pecuniary difficulties, or what was the cause of their separation: but improvident, Thynne certainly was, and the result, as usual, was very great distress and inconvenience. His wife's guardian, a Mr Eynes of Heslington near York, protected her, and considering her to be ill-used, put the penalty in force for non-completion of the contract. Francis was sent in 1574 to the 'Whyte Lyon' prison in Southwark, where he remained a certain time [2½ years]".

[1] Wood claimd Wm Thynne for Oxford too: see p. xxi, above, note 1. Whenever the worthy Anthony got any details about a man, he seems to have enterd him as of Oxford, just for the pleasure of printing the information. In like wise did the old Chaucer editors treat poems. Whenever they found a fairly good one (though sometimes an awfully bad one) they dubd it Chaucer's, and printed it in his *Workes*.

[2] By Canon Jackson, from the Marquis of Bath's papers at Longleat.

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In February 1573 Francis Thynne 'writes from Barnesey [Bermondsey] streate to Sir John Thynne at Longleat[1], saying that he is in debt, and in fear of prison, and asking for money'.

II *k*. *Francis Thynne's first antiquarian work.* (*See* Notes.)

But though he is in debt, he is at work, and evidently keeps at work after he has been put in the debtors' prison. Our earliest extant note of his labours is in 1573, when we find his verse "epistle dedicatorye of the booke of Armorye of Claudius Paradyne" in the first MS. of Ashmole 766, in the Bodleian, the lines being dated from "Barmondsey streathe the 2 of Auguste 1573." The next poem in the MS.—printed below, in Appendix IV, p. 103, Thynne's "dyscourse uppon ye creste of the Lorde Burghley"—is not dated. But it mentions our author's distress, and also says that he went into a garden, l. 70. If this is not a dream-garden the Southwark prison may well have had a real one; and as Thynne in his second letter, of 19 March, 1576, to Lord Burghley alludes to that nobleman's crest (p. liv, below), I conclude that the poem —a shockingly bad one—was written in or about March 1576. But I am anticipating. On Oct. 19, 1573, Thynne began his collection of alchemical and other treatises, which is now the Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 11,388. It begins "In dei no*min*e. Amen. 1573. 19 octob*ris*." Notes by Thynne are on leaf 5, "I wroughte no more of this booke [The secretes of Alchymye] out of the nighshe (?) coopy I had of m^r^ de .... [*name rubd out*] because I bought the same booke after in Latyn. F. THYNNE.

Aut nouus aut nullus, si mea sors tulerit. FRANCIS.

My strange and froward fate
Shall turne her whele anewe,
To better or to payre this state,
W*hi*che envye dothe pursue[2]. F. Thynne.

(*leaf* 9) Explicit fons paradisi. Copied out by me FRANCIS THYNNE the .7. of August 1574, out of an old written copie." (then 'Aut nouus &c' and 'My strange' &c. again, and also on leaf 25, back.)

(*leaf* 15, *back*) "Explicit Aristoteles de pomo. Copied oute the 18 of Septembe*r* 1574, by me FRANCIS THYNNE."

[1] The letter is still at Longleat, but I am not allowd a copy of it.

[2] This motto, which he writes 3 times in 25 leaves, points to his being in prison, I suppose.

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(*leaf* 25, *back*) at the end of 'liber ouidii qui de mutacione vite, siue de vetula Inscribitur.' "Copied out the 29 of Septembe*r* 1574. by me FRANCIS THYNNE" (with the 4 dashes and dots underneath, and the mottoes above, repeated).

(*leaf* 37) "finis tractatus de phenice, siue lapide philosophico. Copied out the 18 of Nouember by me FRANCIS THYNNE" (with 4 dashes and dots underneath).

Though 1564 is the first date on the label on the back of this MS. volume of 'Collections' (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 11,388), that date must apply to "the order for buryalls to be serued" by Heralds, made "At a Chapter holden at the office of Armes the 20 of Februarye 1564," copied on leaf 189, back, to 190 of the MS., and not to Thynne's own work. His first line in this MS. is, as I said above, "In dei no*mine*. Amen. 1573. 19 octob*ris*." Here is the Manuscript's list of Contents, by a later hand, to give you a notion of Thynne's reading, and note-books:—

"The Secrets of Alchymy—fo. 1. Translated in part by Fr. Thynne.
Fons Paradisi—fo. 4—6, by Ripley or Raymond Lullye.
De Bufone—fo. 8. b.
Epistola in qua Philosophici Lapidis prœparatio propolatur—fo. 9. b.
Responsio istius Epistolæ—fo. 10.
Aristoteles de Pomo—fo. 10. b.
Ovidius de Vetula—fo. 15.
Mystical Coat of Arms—fo. 25.
Lactantius de Phoenice—fo. 25. b.
Claudianus de Phœnice, sive de Ave Hermetis.—fo. 31. b.
Plinius de Phœnice—fo. 33.
Tractatalus de Phenice, siue de Lapide Philosophico—fo. 33. b.
Gemma Salutaris—fo. 35. b.
A figure relating to the Hermetical Philosophy—fo. 40.
Fons et Origo, Principium, Medium, et finis totius Operis perfecti—fo. 40.
Successio Regum incipiens a Rege Johanne ad. 31^{m}. Elizæ p*er* Robertum Hare—fo. 41. b.
Quomodo placita Coronæ in Turri Londo*nie* teneatur—fo. 45.
The life of Sr Tho. Moore writ by Wm. Roper Esqr.—fo. 47.
Part of the Visitation of Norfolk made by W^{m}. Harvey Clarencieux 1563—fo. 65.
Horn's verses pro Informatione Computantium in Scaccario—fo. 78.
Perambulatio Forestæ Essexiæ—fo. 80, 28. Edw. 1.
Expositiones Antiquorum verborum Anglicanorum [begins *Soka*, ends *Brigge bote:* known]—fo. 83.
Repertorium diversorum Recordorum—fo. 84.

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Repertorium diversarum Cartarum temporibus E 2, E 3, R 2, H 4, H 5, et H 6.—fo. 85. b.

Repertorium de Record*is* tempore *Regis*. Edw. 2. Edw. 3 et de alijs Notabilibus—fo. 89.

The Kings Book of all the Lords, Knight*es*, Esq^{rs}, and Gentlemen, of the Realm of England, in the time of H. 7.—f. 105.

Statutum de Templarijs—fo. 135.

De Origine et Antiquitate Armorum, siue Insigniorum Gentilitium, cum Rob*erti* Gloveri Observationibus—fo. 136.

Copy of an Exemplification of Letter*es* Patent*es* granted to the Heralds—fo. 166.

Coronatio Reginæ Anglosaxonum ante Conquestum—fo. 168.

The Order of the Knights of the Bathe at the Coronation of Q. Mary—fo. 169.

Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber 1603—fo. 170.

Barons made at the Tower 20 Maij, 1° Iac*obi* 1—fo. 171.

Knights of the Garter 22 Apri*l* 1603—f. 171. b. [leaf 1, back]

Names of all the Princes and Dukes retained under the D*ukes* of Bedford, Anjou, and Alencon, fo. 172. tempore Henrici VI.

The Peace proclaimed with Spain 19 Aug. 1604—fo. 174. b.

The Visitation of Oxfordshire a° 1574—fo. 175.

The 4th May 1605. 3°. Iac*obi* 1^{mi} Eight Noblemen Created—fo. 187.

The day following, Mary, daughter of K. James, Christned at Greenwich—fo. 187, b.

The 23. Apri*l* in the same year the Duke of Vanholt, the Queen of Englands Brother, and the Earl of Nor'h*amp*ton, made Knights of the Garter—fo. 188.

Series Ordinum omnium Procerum, Magnatum, et Nobilium, et aliorum quorumcunq*ue* infra hoc Regnum, tam virorum quam feminarum, posita et distincta per Nobilissimum Jasperum, Ducem Bedford*ie*, et ali*um* appunctuariorum Dom*ini* Reg*is* Henr*ici*—fo. 188.

At St Georges Feast, the Earl of Sarum and Viscou*nt* Bindon made Knights of the Garter—fo. 189.

At a chapter at the Office of Arms, 20 Feb. 1564, the Order for Burialls to be observed—fo. 189, b.

The Herald*es* Fee for the Queens Coronation—fo. 190.

The Comic*ion* for Marshal Causes 1 Feb. 2°. Jac*obi* 1^{mi}.—fo. 190, b.

On the 24th of January 1573-4, Francis Thynne got Letters of Administration, as we have seen (p. xl), to the estate of his mother who had died before June 1572. But he could not have obtaind money enough from his mother's estate to clear himself from his debts.

II *l*. *Francis Thynne in Prison, but not mad.*

His wife's trustee (Mr Eynes, p. xlviii) or another creditor for £100, must have imprisond him in January 1574, even on Jan. 13, if we take

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strictly his words that on March 13, 1575-6, he had been confined "for two yeres and twoo months" (p. liii). In February 1574-5, he writes from the White Lion to Sir John Thynne at Longleat, and says he has 'been a long time in prison. He was there still on the 16th of July in that year[1]'.

In March 1575-6, we find him in sore trouble; robbd by his wife's relations (at least, so he says), still in prison, nearly starving, and writing two such letters to Lord Burghley, praying for his release, that the Lansdowne-MS. indexer 'writes him down' "Thynne Francis, a madman[2]"; and indeed to any one who does not know that Lord Burghley's crest was a sheaf of golden corn,—on which Francis Thynne wrote a Discourse[3] (see p. 103, below)—and its supporters lions, Thynne's distress may well seem to have toucht his sanity in the 2nd letter. But the signatures to both these letters are unquestionably our Francis's; and so are the bodies of them, and their turns and phrases too:—

Lansdowne MS. 21, *Art.* 57, *leaf* 117.

Righte honorable (my Verye good lorde) presuminge uppon the honor of your callinge, the wisdome of your mynde, the curtesye of your dispositione, & *th*e fauorable receyte of this my humble sute, I am the moore encoraged to hasarde my rashe attempte, wherein I most humbly beseche yo^{u} rather to consider the state of my enforced compleinte, then the malip*er*tnesse of my disordered penne, that dareth so impudently (withoute respecte of honor in yo^{u}, & thee dutye of wisdome in mee) seeke to craave that at your Lo*rdships* handes w*h*iche I cannot deserue, & muche lesse shalbe able to requite. And thoughe, my good Lorde, fortune hathe not beefore tyme made manifeste unto yo^{u}, eyther the p*er*fecte knowledge of my persone, or the dowryes of my mynde, or the welwillinge dutyfullnes of my harte (w*h*iche alwayes in secret hathe wished occas*i*one to disclose what lyeth buried therein towardes your honor in any service I ame able to performe), Yet the iustice of your dedes, the force of your vertue, the valoure of your mynde, & the extremytye of my

[1] Canon Jackson: letter at Longleat. No copy allowd me.

[2] The entries in the Lansdowne Catalogue, p. 43, col. 2, are,

"57. Francis Thynne, (who seems to be a madman,) to Lord Burghley; to procure his release from confinement at the White Lion, March 13, 1575.

"58. A second mad letter of F. Thynne, from his restraint at the White Lion, to Lord Burghley, March 19, 1575."

This is adding insult to injury. The cataloguer's coolness in covering his own ignorance and laziness by writing Thynne down 'madman,' is delicious.

[3] Hearne's Diary, vol. xcvi. p. 56, March 28, 1723. "Mus. Ashmole 766. 2. Discourse on L. Burleigh's Crest. The Author of it is Francis Thynne, the Antiquary, tho' not specify'd so in the Catalogue, the Compiler, perhaps, being not able to read the name. It is a poem of 9 leaves in 4to."

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myserable pouertye, hathe emboldened the distressed persone to craue your honors fauorable succor to helpe the poore estate of mee, vniustly delt withall by persons of suche substance in goodes, such pollycye in wisdome, such experience in the affayres of the worlde, & of suche credit in countenaunce, as I shall vtterly be ouerthrowen, withoute your Lordships good assistance therein. Whereunto I do most dutyfuly submytt my selfe & my cause, desyringe your Lordship to deale with mee none otherwise then the iustnesse of my case, the simplycyte of my doinges, the trothe of the matter, the credit of my good naame, & the nobilytee of your callinge, shall well deserue. But what doo I spende manye Woordes, in a iuste cause, from a iuste manne, to require iustice, since that same is superfluous, & to seeke frendshippe in an iniuste matter is meere iniustice, & vtter discredit to the party that craueth yt.

I, Therefore, in the uprightnesse of my sute, most humbly beeseche your Lordship so to stand thus honorable unto mee, that yt will please thee same that I and my matter may bee called before the highe boorde of thee counsell (or rather (as I most ernestly doo craue) before your hoonour,) that by your Lordships vndeserued curtesye soome remedy mighte bee prouided, to helpe my distresse, too releue my neede, to banishe my famyne, & to moderat the iniuste dealinges of euill persons, my case beinge suche as must be determyned by conscience & reasone; for otherwise, suche is the meaninge of my aduersaryes (who by name & nature ar my kinsmen), as yf they may bringe mee lowe (as they haue), withoute money; keepe mee (as they doo) imprisoned withoute bayle; make me helplesse (as they trauell therein) withoute freendes, & comfortlesse withoute Justice; they had the same they desyred, for that, that vnder thee coolore of prouidinge for the assurance of my wiues iointure (whereby they haue withholden ijC markes by yere this fowre yeres) they [*lf* 117, *back*] haue not all only spoyled mee, but also styll receue the reuenues of the same, not forcesinge[1] what become of mee, sufferinge mee in the meane tyme, withoute sustenaunce for my meintenaunce, & withoute money for the discharge of my debte (beinge but one hundred pounde), the same beinge the only cause of my imprisonment) to lye these two yeres and twoo months[2] in restreynte of my libertye, not in case able to recouer my lyvinge because I cannot (againste their iniuste detencions thereof) haue lybertye to followe the lawe, nor in case able to pay my creditor, for that, that I haue not, by theire euill dealinges, wherewith-all for too doo yt, as in reasone I shold, & in trothe & conscience I wolde. Wherfore, vppon the knees of my harte, an the pytyfull compleinte of a famished prisoner, I most humbly beseche your Lordship to stande my assured patrone (as one to whome I owe my lerninge,[3] my traueil, my libertye, & my lyfe (the [whiche] withoute spedye preuentione resteth in danger of loosinge by the dissolucione of my bodye) & that yt will plese your Lordship, for the admynistratione of

[1] caring: *forceth*, matters, signifies.
[2] See Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses, &c.*, on the poor prisond debtors.
[3] Can this mean that Cecil brought up Francis Thynne?

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Justice, for godds cause, for the nobilytye of *your* estate, for the delyuerye of your poore Dutyfull servante, for the defence of the oppressed, for the succor of the helplesse, & to answere the *pre*sent hoope I haue in *your* L*ordships* curtesye, not to denye this mye iuste desire, but to suffer my importunytye (with the widdowe mentioned in St Luke) to ou*er*come youre L*ordships* cause of refusall of this my humble sute, yf yo^u^ shold haue occas*i*one mynistred vnto *your* honor so too doo.

Thee performance whereof shall not all onlye bee acceptable to godd, answerable vnto *your* callinge, & profitable vnto mee, but shall also bynde mee & all my frendes to *our* vttermoste endeuor to rest at *your* L*ordships* good *com*maunde. Thus hoopinge *your* L*ordship* will deale with mee as most curteously heretofore yo^u^ haue alwayes delt with others, C*om*mendinge mee & my estate to *your* fauorable comforte, Cravinge pardonne for my tedious writinge, & commyttinge *your* L*ordship* to thee gouer*nment* of the almightye, who sende *your* L*ordship* further encrease of honor, & mee present release of restreynte, I most humbly take my leaue, the 13 of March 1575[-6] from the White lyone[1], the Vnhappye place of my sorrowfull restreinte. By *your* L*ordship* to *com*maunde to his vttermost end euer duringe his Lyfe,

Francis Thynne

./ . /. /. /.

Addrest To the right honorable his singuler good Lorde, the Lorde Burghleghe, highe Treshaurer of englande, & one of the priuye counsell to her Mai*est*ie, be these.

Endorst 13 March 1575[-6]. Francis Thinne to my L*orde* from ye Whyte Lyon.

Six days after, Thynne sends the following seemingly cranky letter to Lord Burghley :—

Lansdowne MS. 21, *Art.* 58, *leaf* 119.

As before (righte honorable) I rashely aduentured beyoynde the course of my desertes, or *the* honor of *your* estate, by tedious pre-sum*p*tione to name the *com*fortable ayde of the golden sheife, supported

[1] This Parish [St George's, Southwark] is of chief Note for the *Kings Bench* Prison, the *White Lyon*, the *Marshalsea* Prison, and the *Mint*, the ancient Retreats of ill principled Persons, that there sheltered themselves from the Payment of their just Debts, before the late Act of Parliament that took away that pretended Privilege. . . There was formerly in *Southwark* but one Prison, particularly, serving for the whole County of *Surrey*, and that called the WHITE LYON, which was for the Custody of *Murtherers*, *Felons*, and other notorious *Malefactors*. It was situate at the South end of S. *Margarets Hill* near unto S. *Georges Church*; but that being an old decayed House within less than twenty years past, the County Gaol is removed to the MARSHALSEA PRISON more towards the Bridge: which is a large and strong Building, being also a Prison for Debt.—1720. Strype's ed. of *Stowe's Survey*, vol. ii, B 4, p. 29-30. See Notes below.

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with the two honorable lyons of Jupiter & Luna[1], therein rep*re*sentinge vnto mee *th*e Mai*est*ie of *th*e golden Phebus peysed in *th*e ballance of Justice, supported *with* two most worthye Vertues, Wisdome & good gouer*n*me*n*t, So now againe, lest the charge of the estate of this realme dependinge uppon *th*e Wisdome of yo*u*r fooresighte might in the tender nett of yo*u*r memorye weue oblyuione of mee & my myserable imprisone-me*n*t, I haue accompted yt my duetye, (to thend that I may fynde some harborwe in yo*u*r remembrance) to presente unto yo*u*r honor these wavinge lynes, carractered in *th*e coolor of the sable Saturne, whose malicious dispositione, by the euill complexione of his melancholye nature / dothe (besides reason, Justice, conscience, Wisdome, or my desertes,) deteyne mee in the prisone of iniuste dealinges, in suche sorte, that I, tyed by *th*e leaden heales of his malice, cannott approche the presence of *that* golden soonne, Wherin is written by *th*e hande of Mercurye, that there is but one waye, & one harte, one faythe, & one baptysme, one godd, one *christe*, & one pathe to all philosophye & vertue, W*hi*che must, by the furtherance of the azured Jupiter, banishe Saturne oute of his kingdome, & restore me to that w*hi*che with modestye I craue, & in reasone I deserue / Wherefore, since one, or an Vnytie, is the begynninge of all thinges, & that w*i*thoute one, no nomber cann bee p*er*foormed, & that from one, all nombers doo arise, & by circulat*i*one doo ende againe in thee same oone, I most dutyfuly beseche yo*u*r L*ordship*, that the same one may begett & bringe forthe one other one; that is, that one manne whose harte is bente but one waye, that is, to Justice, maye at one tyme delyuer oute of prisone one manne, whose harte, whose Lerninge, whose labor, & whoose service is Vowed & sacrificed one Waye, & to one p*er*sonne, since '*omn*is virtus in see vnita, magis vigorem habet.' Withoute *th*e entrance into w*hi*che pathe of one waye, I ame lyke to be ledde oute of *th*e right course of all other wayes. For, (my good lorde,) my foortune is so harde, the nature of myne enymies so greate, the goodwill of my kindred so smale, & *th*e Loue of my frendes so colde, that I cannot doo what in troothe I haue wished, what in herte I haue vowed, nor what in reasone yo*u*r L*ordship* Well

[1] Lord Burghley's crest as blazond by Thynne in the Ashmole MS. 766, leaf 5, back, is a sheaf of golden corn, supported by two lions rampant, the left one argent (white), the right one azure, all within the ribbon of the Garter, mottod 'Honi soit qui mal y pense'. This, Thynne interprets thus: the argent lion stands for Luna, in the lowest sphere; and Lord Burghley is this, in "that low'st in curteous dedes, eche doth hym know". The golden sheaf is the Sun in mid-heaven; and Lord Burghley is this, for he is

"in myddest of worthye gentryes seuente degree,
a lordly baron of nobylytie".

The azure lion is Jupiter, in the highest sphere but one; and Lord Burghley is this, as Elizabeth's minister,

"his lyon Jupiter, in second sphere,
is seconde rule, which he doth iustly bere."

See the poem in *Appendix* IV, below. A sheaf of arrows, or six arrows crosst alternately, form the Salisbury (or 2nd son, Robert Cecil) crest. The shield or coat of arms is supported by two prancing ermind lions.

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deseruethe, for then shold youre L*ordship* (yf *that* these impediment*es* were not) bee p*ar*taker of that simple treatise w*hi*che I haue longe tyme since dedicated vnto yo*ur* honor. But since mye foortune may not beare yt, & that I haue not abylytie to write yt newe, nor lybertye by persone to presente the badge of my serviceable harte vnto yo^{u}, but that I muste, in *the* sleepe of oblyuione, burye the unskilfull labor of my hande & mynde (consecrated to the fauorable acceptance of yo*ur* honorable curtesye), I ame well contented (beinge thereunto vnwillingly enforced, to lett the same with my other labors to dwell in silence; for thoughe in those trauayles I wolde seme to flye to the heauens, yet there is a heuye stoone tyed at my foote, w*hi*che keepeth mee backe in such sorte, that where I wold discouer my dutyfull service vnto yo*ur* honor, there, pouertye & wante of Lybertye tyethe hym by thee feete, & dothe denye the effecte of his honest desire therof. Whose bandes, I beseche yo*ur* L*ordship* may be released to his no smale comforte, & for to answere the greate hoope I haue in yo*ur* L*ordships* vndeserued curtesye, whereunto I most humbly in euery respecte (to saue or spill) do submytt my cause & my selfe, begginge, uppon the knees of my harte, to come before yo*ur* L*ordship* to discouer his miserable estate, therby to helpe to succor hym who is lyke to famishe for wante of sustena*au*nce, not havinge [*lf* 119 *back*] apparell to clothe hym, nor money wherewith-all to meynteyne hym.

Thus, (right honorable) cravinge pardone for my Tediousnes (since, as sayethe Salomon, 'in multiloquio non deest peccatu*m*.' / Wishinge my lybertye, hoopinge uppon the same, co*mm*endinge me vnto yo*ur* fauorable comforte, & co*m*myttinge yo*ur* honor to the deuyne essence (the bewtye of whose Maie*s*tie placed, as sayethe Dauid, in the tabernacle of *the* golden sonne,) so lighten the honor of the golden sheaffe, that the same beinge aduanced to a seate of followinge encrease of honor in yo^{u}, may worke a presente release of imprisonme*n*t in mee, I most dutyfully take my leaue: from *the* White Lyone, the vnhappy place of my sorrowfull restreinte, the 19 of Marche, 1575. Yo*ur* L*ordships* to co*m*maunde duringe his lyfe, to his vttermost endeuor.

Francis Thynne.

./ . / . /. /·/·

II *m*. *F. Thynne's bad opinion of Wives.*

That Thynne's married life was not a happy one, is clear also from at least two of his 'Epigrams,' which though dated A.D. 1600, fit-in so well here that I quote them out of their order of time. A wife, he says, is best when she's dead; and marriage is happy only when the husband is deaf, and the wife blind.

Epigrams.

(*Bridgewater House MS.*)

When a wife is badd, worse, and worst. [leaf 44, back]
When she is good, better, and beste.

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My frend, yf that my Iudgement do not fayle,
as one well taught by longe experience skill,
thy wife allwaies is but a needefull ill,
and beste is bad, thoughe faire she beare her saile;
but vsd not well, she worser is to thee,
but worst of all, when best she seemes to bee

Thy wife is good when shee forsakes this light,
and yealdes by force to natures destinie:
she better is, (thow livinge,) yf she die;
but best, when she doth soonest take her flight;
for soe to thee thine ease shee doth restore,
w*hi*ch soonest hadd, doth comforte thee the more.

Mariage.

Deepe witted menn b'experience haue contrived, [leaf 58, back]
that mariage, good and quiet is, ech hower,
where the mans heringe organs are deprived
of their right vse and sound receyving power,
and where is seelëd vp the womans percing sights,
that she maie not behould her husbands sweet delights.

For since natúre hath made that sex most fraile,
and subiect to tormenting Ielousie,
vpon ech guiltles signe they will not fayle,
their loving husbands to suspecte falselie:
yet if she could not see, but were by nature blinde,
such fonde conceites she would not harbor in her minde.

And if suspected manne were dombe to heere
the Iealous brawles of his vnquiet wife,
ech would embrace and hould the other deere,
wherbye they might obtayne a quiet life;
without w*hi*ch rare effects, swete mariage is a hell;
but linkëd with these guiftes, doth Paradice excell.

His 'Embleames' "Strangers more friendlie to vs than our owne kinde and kindred" (MS., leaf 38), of 'Societie' (leaf 19), and his Epigram "The waye to gett and keepe frendes" (leaf 43, back), chime-in with the feelings he gives vent to in his White-Lion letters.

II *n*. His Release, and '*Homo, Animal Sociale*'.

Whether Lord Burghley freed him from prison, or his cousin Sir John Thynne came to his rescue, I find no record, but from the very warm way in which he afterwards speaks of Lord Burghley (p. lix, lxxxv, below) it is possible that to him, either directly or indirectly, Thynne ow'd his release. He must have been at liberty before June 6, 1576, as

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on that day he writes to Sir John Thynne "From my cousin Bechers[1]": but where that was, is not stated, says Canon Jackson. Another letter[1] to Sir John is dated July 22, 1577, but does not say where it was written from, though in it Francis states that he still owes money. Between that date and October 20, 1578,—when we find Francis Thynne at Longleat, Sir John Thynne's new mansion (now the seat of Sir John's descendant, the Marquis of Bath), despatching to Lord Burghley (as I suppose) a dissertation of 6 folio leaves, closely written (now leaves 70—75 of the Lansdowne MS. 27), on the theme *Homo, animal sociale;* and soon after dedicating a treatise to one of his patrons and friends, Lord Cobham, the history of whose family he afterwards wrote,—the following arrangement, stated by Canon Jackson from the Longleat Papers, must have been made:—

"After the death of his Mother (who had re-married, first Sir Edward Boughton, and then Hugh Cartwright, Esq.), the lease of Erith Rectory[2] had come into Francis Thynne's possession. He had mortgaged it. Sir John Thynne of Longleat redeemed the mortgage, and also paid debts for him: and having purchased the fee-simple from the Crown (upon the confiscation of the monasteries) and then paying Francis for his interest in the lease, Sir John became the owner of the tithes; agreeing at the same time to allow a maintenance for the wife, and to give Francis a home at Longleat. Of this, Francis availed himself, for the dedication to Lord Cobham of his little book, 'The Perfect Ambassador,' is dated from Longleat in 1578(-9). Sir John Thynne died in 1580. Francis appears to have expected that his residence at Longleat was to continue for his own life, but the second Sir John Thynne thought otherwise; for in 1604, after the second Sir John Thynne's death, and when Sir Thomas Thynne had Longleat, Francis addressed a petition to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, setting forth that though such had been the engagement, it had not been observed, neither had he received any allowance or compensation in lieu of it. Lord Ellesmere wrote in a friendly way on his behalf to Sir Thomas Thynne, the third owner, suggesting some assistance as compensation; but the result of his interference does not appear.'

On Oct. 20, 1578, Thynne writes (either to Lord Cobham or Lord Burghley, I suppose) a dissertation on the theme *Homo, animal sociale.* This is now 6 leaves, 70-5, of the Lansdowne MS. 27. I give the beginning and end:

"Redinge / right honorable / that 'Homo is *anim*al sociale,' I cold not conceue wherefore the same was spooken, vnlest yt were uppon these

[1] Letter at Longleat, copy not allowd me. [2] See p. xxii, above.

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reasons followinge, whiche haue ministred cause to mee to write these tedious *lettres* vnto yo^{u}, not hauinge other occasione offred to present my selfe vnto yo*ur* honor, but by the caractes of my hande in leiwe of that duety w*hi*che I shold bestowe in persone. Wherefore since I ame by diuers urge*nt* enforceme*ntes* barred bodely to approche yo*ur* presence, I haue thought yt my chalenged dutye in absence, by penne to desplay my Inwarde mynde, w*hi*che alwayes dothe, & shall, acknowledge yo*ur* vndeserued curtesye, to the uttermost of his endeuoyre, w*hi*che beinge able to stretche yt selfe no further then to a fewe simple woordes, thus entreth into his vnorderly discourse of '*homo is animal sociale.*' Manne is demed to be a sociable lyvinge creature because that the same is so necessarye for the meinten*au*nce of his lyfe, as withoute companye (beinge alwayes redye to fall to the worste,) he is drowned in melancholy conceytes, the mother & norice of all euille*s*, bredinge despaire, wicked thoughtes, & euyll lyfe. And therefore god (determyninge that we shold preuente these myscheifs) did first by his owne example create a helper unto Adam, beinge sollitarye in Paradice, therewith bestowinge one hym a certeine meane (in that heauenly gyfte of comfortable speche) wherby eche one might with facylytie enterteyne the secret loue & simpathye of their naturall fidelytye. . . . . .

(*lf* 75) "Thus cravinge pardonne for these tedious lettres / the reading whereof doth heape more troble on hym w*hi*che is dayly surcharged with manye more weighty affayres of *the* comon welthe, humbly comendinge me to yo*ur* honorable lykinge, co*m*myttinge yo^{u} to *the* tuicione of *the* Almightye (who sende to yo^{u} furthere encrease of honor, to me an acceptable lykinge from yo*ur* iudgme*nt*, & to vs bothe the aboundan*ce* of his heuenly spirite,) yeldinge my selfe at yo*ur* L*ordships* good co*m*maunde to be disposed in any service yo^{u} shall enyoyne me here or ells where, I dutyfully take my leave. Longleate the 20 of Octobre 1578. Yo*ur* bounde by desarte Francis Thynne

. / . /. /./. /.

II *o*. *Francis Thynne's Perfect Ambassadour*, 1579, *printed* 1652.

The reader will notice, near the end of the extract, Thynne's mention of "the Reliques of my spoyled Librarie in the time of mine impoverishing and infortunate trouble."

1578(-9). Jan. 8, at Longleate. Thynne's 'Epistle Dedicatorie' and wind-up to his *Perfect Ambassadoure*.[1]

To the Right Honourable, his singular good Lord, William Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Francis Thynn wisheth

[1] Hearne's Diary, vol. lxxxiv. p. 64. "Dec. 3, 1719. Francis Thynne of Longleate Esqr's. Book call'd *The Perfect Ambassadour, treating of the Antiquitie, Priviledges, and behaviour of men belonging to that Function*, was written at Longleate, Jan. 8, 1578, and was printed at London, 1652, 12°. The Author calls it a Xtmass Work. There are some light things in it."

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perpetuall health, further increase of honour and good success in all his Honourable Attempts.

Although, my very good Lord, neither according to my honest desire, nor your honorable desert (*which* worthily may challenge from me a farre more dutifull service than my attendance upon you in *Flanders*) I could not in person, as I did in good will, be present in the same Journey (where I both might have reaped profit, and your Lordship been fully ascertained of my good mind towards you, for that I protest unto you, remaining in this out-nook of the little world (where *London* newes is somewhat scant, & the Princes affaires very seldome known) I had no intelligence of your so honourable place of Embassie in this year of Christ 1578. untill two daies after your departure. The which bred some corsey [1] of a Melancholy conceipt in me by reason of my foolish negligence that would not oftner direct my Letters to crave intelligence from *London*. And by reason of the unkind forgetfulnes of my kindred & friends remaining there, who would not vouchsafe so much courtesie in a matter so much desired by me, and of so small a trouble to them, as to direct their Letters to me thereof. Wherefore sorrowing for that which is past, that I could not, as the rest of my Kindred & friends did, assume such enterprize upon me, and yet not only rejoycing at your honourable entertainment, of the good success, of the wise Dispatch, and of the orderly behaviour, wherwith your Lordship was received beyond the Seas; but also desirous by pen, amongst the rest of your wel willers at this your happy and desired return, to congratulate your Lordship with the tokens of my old vowed fidelitie, as a sign of my hidden joy conceived of your safe arrival, I have thought it my challenged duty to direct this tedious Discourse unto you, containing aswell the unfolding of my former griefs, As laying open to your sight the rejoycing of my well-willing heart. And for that other occasion doth not so fitly minister cause to me in other sort to present myself unto you than by saying somewhat *which* may, & doth concerne Embassadours; Therefore, as wel for that the time is most apt for the man to whom I write, having supplied such place, & for that it also putteth me in mind of your honourable courteous talk which you have often used unto me in like matters, I will hefe in affaires of Embassie, to an Ambassadour present my labours, the Ambassadours of their absent Master & make discourse of things belonging to Embassie. Wherein I will shew the original, Privileges, the Wisdom, the Valour, the quick wits, & other the behaviours of Ambassadours, as examples for us in all respects to imitate. For as Seneca saith in his sixth Epistle, 'Longum iter est per præcepta, breve & efficax per exemplum,' of which kind of people, that is, of Ambassadours, Legats, or Deputies, Messengers of Princes, and of the

[1] 'To have a great hurt or domage, which we call a *corsey* to the herte.' *Eliotes Dictionarie*, 1559, in *Nares*, 1859: see too the quotations there from Pembroke's *Arcadia*, L. 3, p. 297, and Chapman's *Mons. D'Olive*, Anc. Dram. iii. 348. Halliwell's Glossary defines it 'an inconvenience or grievance,' and refers to Dent's *Pathway*, pp. 306, 369; Tusser, p. 32; Stanihurst, p. 25.

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Orators of Kings (For all these severall termes do include one Function exercised in divers manners) because there are sundry sorts somewhat different from the custome of our age, I will not only intreat as they were in times past among the magnificent Romans in the middest of their greatest glory; But I wil also in like order collect and digest the usage and duty of them as they are now used, & put in Office by Princes, Kings and Emperors, for the executing of their determined pleasure. In which (my good Lord) if anything shall be found, that for want of more diligent search may seem faulty, consider that 'Bernadus non videt omnia.' Wee are no Gods, wee can say no more than reasonable conjecture or former Authority may lead us unto. But if in the placing of the same in the apt sentences, or in the sweet composition of stile, there appear default, impute the same to the want of leisure, and to the rude hasty writing of him, who was never brought up in any Vniversitie; and I seek not 'fucum verborum,' so I may have 'ipsam veritatem & materiam solidam.' And thus this far of that; And so into my purposed matter.

* * * * *

Thus having ended my Christmasse work, done in the middest of my Christmasse plaies, as may appear by the Christmasly handling thereof, I after Christmasse consecrate the same to your honourable acceptance, not as a thing worthy your desert and judgement, but as a thing that answereth my desire, and good meaning. The which I beseech your Lordship to accept as lovingly from mee as it is presented willingly by mee unto you, with whom (as soon as by leasure I might, and as by learning I was able, and as a body born out of time, but yet thinking it better late than never) I deemed it my dutie to congratulate your return with some such poor gift as the Reliques of my spoyled Librarie in the time of mine impoverishing, and infortunate trouble, would yield mee Abilitie to bestow.

And thus most humbly commending me to your Honourable liking, committing you to the Almighties protection, I dutifully take my leave this eighth of Januarie 1578. at Longleate.

Yours

II *p.* *The Comentaries of Britayne.*

The Cotton MS. Faustina E. VIII, 221 leaves, one of Thynne's MS. note-books of collections for English and family history, is "*par*te of the first *par*te of the comentaries of Britaine, collected by francis Thynne, by francis Thynne [*so*], A° 1581, et 8 Januarij" (*leaf* 2). Other dates are on leaf 59, 'The erles of Lincolne, begonne the 7 of Auguste 1582.' Leaf 77, 'The Register of the erles of Lincolne. The register begonne the 6 of August 1582'; both signd 'Francis Thynne.' 'The Loordes of Cobham', leaf 40; 'Sire Johne oldcastell', leaf 43, back. 'Senescalli Anglie,' leaf 98; 'Erles of Shrewesbere' (Talbots and Furnivalls), leaf

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100; 'Comites Herefordie,' leaf 102, back; 'The Dukes of Northefolke,' leaf 109; 'Sussex begone the 5 of December, 1584. See before,' leaf 169; 'The Erles of Kente,' leaf 199.

Another "parte of the first *parte* of the comentaries of Britayne collected by francis Thynne" (*leaf* 4), is now the MS. Cott. Faustina E. 9, in the British Museum. It is dated A° 1583, Junij 25, and contains 133 leaves of extracts and notes, of which I copy one or two.

"The Xenogogie of Bedfordshire." Lists of (*leaf* 5) Castells. (*leaf* 6) Libertyes and franchises. howses belonging to noble menne. Knyghtes fees. Scales (?). howses belonginge to the prince. Hilles of name, Sandye hyll . . (*leaf* 6) forrestes and *par*kes, as well presently remeynynge, as disparked. Bridges. hospitalls or Houses for poore people *with* provis*i*one of lyvinge . . . places of charte . . (*leaf* 7) marketts, in nombre 9 . . (*leaf* 7, *back*) Fayres . . . (then extracts and notes. The MS. has 133 leaves.) (*leaf* 83, *back*) Thomas lorde furnivalle, 6, 7, & some *par*t of the 8 H. 4, in w*h*iche eighte yere, in mìchelmas terme, this lorde furnivalle (who had the custodye of the castell & towne of wigmore, beinge in the kinges handes by reasone of the wardshippe & mynoritye of edmonde mortimore (?), erle of marche) was, yt semed, remoued: in whose place came the bishoppe of londone.
for the lord furnivall: ypodigma, pa. 167.

A third "Parte of the fyrste Parte of the comentaries of Britayne collected by Francis Thynne[1]," in Bridgewater House, is a 4to MS. dated "A° 1583, 1 Julij" on the 1st leaf. It is written by Francis Thynne, and contains 23 sheets, 21 of which are in tens: the 1st sheet of ten has lost 2 fly-leaves, and the 2nd sheet is in six: it is a further collection of notes and extracts on bishops, &c., from divers books: thus on leaf 2 "1583, 1 [or 2] Julij. Notes taken oute of the Booke de gestis Lindifarn*e*nsis et dunelmensis epi*s*co*p*is"[2]—so far as I can read the words;—leaf 15 bk. "A° 1583. 3 Junij. Notes taken oute of the booke of Galfridus Sacrista de Coldingham de statu (? MS.)"; leaf 33 bk, "finitu*m* hoc opus 5 Julij 1583. . . Francis Thynne;" leaf 34, "5 Julij A° 1583, Notes taken oute of a polichronicon of the house & priorie of Durham;" leaf 38, "Notes out of a Cronicle of Scotlande belonginge to Durhame Churche;" leaf 40, "13 Octob. 1583, Notes taken out of a booke compiled by freer Richarde of

[1] As to the erasures on the title, he writes "these thinges are not thus cancelled because they are not true, but because they were written in other of my bookes."

[2] The endings are 'is' and not 'i*um*, or*um*.'

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westm*inster*, A° 1450;" leaf 41, "Notes taken oute of [? MS.] Sporley, a monke of westm*inster*. The Abbates of westminster;" leaf 42, back, "Compilatio Abbat*ium* excerpta ex opere fr*atr*is Joh*ann*is flete nup*er* prioris westm*onasterii*." Later, "Ex Analibus Eliensis monasterij;" (back) "Ex libello de genealogia et vita *sancte* Etheldrede:" a list of the Abbots and Bishops of Ely, with the arms of the latter; and on leaf 74, bk, "finis. 5 die martij A° 1584. Francis Thynne." Leaf 75, "Thinges excerped oute of an olde englishe[1] booke in ryme of the gestes of Guarine and his sonnes;" at foot of 3rd leaf, back, "Here lacked a quayre or ij in the olde inglyshe booke of the actes of the Warines; and these thing*es* that followe, Lelande translated out of an olde frenche historye in Ryme of the act*es* of the Guarines vnto the deathe of fulco 2 . . ."; ends on leaf 78: "as I remember the inglishe historye of the fytzwarines attributethe this to fulco the firste. finis 6: Martij 1584, Francis Thynne." Next page, "Taken oute of scala cronicon," . . . finis 6 Aprill 1584, Francis Thynne /. (the first signature without the dashes and dots underneath). Later, "Taken out of the booke of [? MS.] A° 1585, 6 Junij . . ." "A l*ettr*e of pope paschalis to Lanfrance B*ishop* of canter*bury*, concerning horveus the first B*ishop* of Elye . . ." "oute of the booke of the Churche of powles of londone . . ." "Notes taken oute of the booke belonginge to the abbey of Rumseye, treatinge of the same Abbey, 15 February 1585 . . ." "finis 23 februarij 1585 Francis Thynne" (the second signature without dashes and dots). "Notes taken oute of the dialogues of Gervasius tilberiensis 1 Martij 1585 . . . [*later side-note by F. T.*] "This Booke was not written by Geruasius tilberiensis, as hath Bale [in cent. 3, fo. 250], but by Richarde, Bishoppe of Londone, & tresurer to H. 2., as hathe the red booke of the exchequier in the treatice there made by Alexander, archdeacon of Saloppe . . ." "Thus farr*e* the notes of the fyrst booke of gervasius Tilberiensis, or of that booke knowen in the exchequer by the name of the blacke booke. Francis Thynne." "Oute of the charters belonginge to the chappell of St. Stephens of Westmynster . . ." finis, 31 Martij 1586 Fra. Thynne (no dashes or dots). "Taken oute of the

[1] Not now known, I believe. We have French MSS., and one or two of them printed. Of the French prose *Estoire*, Sir T. Duffus Hardy printed the text only, for private circulation. His intended edition, being delayd, was forestalld by some one who had got wind of it.

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booke writen [?] of Goodwyne & his children . . ." finis Fra Thynne (no dashes or dots) 11 Aprill A° d*omi*ni 1586. "Notes taken oute of Dudo de *sancto* quintino [?] A° 1586, 30 maij [with an addition from another monk's 6th and 7th books] finis eodem die." "Notes taken out of Joh*annes* [? MS.] monach*us* cantuar*iensis* a° 1586, 30 Maij . . . finis 16 Junij a° 1586." "Ex libro qui continebat vitam S*ancti* Albani, historia*m* regis offe, et gesta d*omin*o*rum* abbat*ium* *sancti* albani vsque hugone*m* abb*at*em &c cu*m* [? MS.] . . . Finitu*m*. 26 Augusti, anno d*omi*ni 1587: et opus vnius die[i] Francis Thynne" (no dashes or dots under). Two more leaves of extract, pedigree, sketches of seals, &c., end the book.

In 1583 Francis Thynne writes from London to the second Sir John Thynne of Longleat, who had, as Francis considerd, broken his father's engagement to find a home at Longleat for Francis during his life (p. lviii). The letter is at Longleat, but no copy is allowd me.

II *q*. *Continuation of Holinshed* (ends p. lxxxix, below).

We now come to Francis Thynne's first appearance in print (p. lx▲), and his most important work, his share in the Continuation and Revision of Holinshed's *Chronicle*. He tells us (p. lxxiii, below) "that both the historie of England & Scotland were half printed before I set pen to paper to enter into the augmentation or continuation of anie of them;" that he took the work up unwillingly, and only "by inforcement of others, whose commanding friendship it had been sacrilege for me to haue gainesaid" (p. lxx, lxxviii). He declares his only desire is to get at the truth, and his willingness to receive and make corrections of his work (p. lxxviii, lxxix); he gives his detractors an occasional dig (*ib*., p. lxxvii), is continually profuse in apologies (p. lxx, lxxiii, &c.), but still reminds his readers that he has faithfully taken much pains with his work, and toild hard for it (p. lxxix, lxxx). He was surely fit to help in such an undertaking. He had plannd, and made collections for, a "*Pantographie of England*, conteining the vniuersall description of all memorable places, and persons as well temporall as spirituall" (p. lxxv). (Parts of this were no doubt his projected Lives of the Lord Chancellors (p. lxxix, lxxx), Lord Treasurers (p. lxxviii), Earls (p. lxxxi), Lord Cobhams (p. xcix), and Lords Marshal (p. c) of England, as his Lives

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of the Protectors and Cardinals certainly were (p. lxxv).) He was at least high in the second rank of antiquaries of his day; esteemd and praisd by Camden (p. cvi, below), the friend of Egerton (afterwards Lord Chancello); and he evidently knew, and was thought well of, by men like Lord Burghley, Lord Cobham, Archbp. Whitgift.

That Thynne understood the duty and office of a Historian is clear from his 'Continuation of the Annales of Scotland', in which he selects his materials, combines them, judges their value, though here even he cannot keep from giving six lists (mostly with short lives) of Protectors, Dukes (2 sorts), Chancellors, Archbishops, and Writers on Scotch History (p. lxxi-iii below). But when we turn to his insertions in, and continuations of, Holinshed, we find that Thynne has unluckily forgotten all about the Historian's duty; the Antiquary, the Compiler of pedigrees and biographies, has taken the upper hand. When he came on a High Constable, Cardinal, Archbishop, Duke, in Holinshed, or Stow's or Hooker's Continuation, he evidently said, "Happy thought, let's have a list of *all* English Cardinals, Archbishops, Dukes, &c.," and accordingly collected the lists, and stuck them into the History, or narrative, over and over again, whisking the reader off, at a moment's notice, from the middle of Elizabeth's reign (say) to Edward the Confessor, or William the Conqueror, and then running him gently down a list of Archbishops, say, for sixty odd folio pages, till he landed him in Elizabeth again.

Whether some of Thynne's 'Collections' were thought too long for the continued *Holinshed*, or whether they, or any intervening matter by other hands containd praise of any traitors or unpopular folk, I cannot say, but almost all of the copies appear to have been castrated. Bp Nicholson in his *Eng. Hist. Libr.* says the reason of the castrations was because F. Thynne had greatly praisd Lord Cobham, who afterwards fell into disgrace; but the William Brooke, Lord Cobham, whom Thynne praisd, did not die till 1596, and was, in 1586-8, in favour, and not in disgrace, with Elizabeth (Hearne, *Cur. Disc.* ii. 445, ed. 1771). True it is that Thynne also praisd his sons, Henry[1]—who was attainted in

[1] *Holinshed*, iii. 1513. "Henrie Brooke, being the second sonne by birth, but now the eldest by inheritance, is a gentleman of whom great hope is conceiued, that his following yeares, giuing increase to his good parts by nature, and to the like gifts of the languages by education, will not onelie make him a beneficall member to his commonwealth, but also a person worthie of such a father; which Henrie was borne at Cobham hall on wednesdaie the two and

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1604, when his honours became forfeited (Courthope, *Historic Peerage*, p. 119), and George[1], who was executed and attainted (Nicolas, *Engl. Peerage*, i. 142-3), but these few lines cannot have been ground for cancelling a hundred and fifteen folio pages of *Holinshed*.[2]

I find ground enough for the castrations, in the nature of the matter cut out, which consists of 1. Thynne's "Discourse of the Earles of Leicester by succession"; 2. a large part of Stow's narrative of "The Earle of Leicesters passing ouer into the Low Countries"; 3. Thynne's Lists and short Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, of the Lord Cobhams, and the Wardens of the Cinque Ports. One can fancy the feelings of an editor or reader, or even one of the worthy payers for the book—'John Harison, George Bishop, Rafe Newberie, Henrie Denham, and Thomas Woodcocke'—when, having already sufferd six times from Thynne's interrupting long lists, he came on the seventh,—thrust-in just as Leicester had been grandly receivd at Colchester, and was on the point of embarking his army for Flushing (p. lxxxi); and then found the 5 folio pages of this seventh list[3] followd very soon by a whole hundred pages of Thynne's further interrupting 8th, 9th, and 10th lists. Surely it 'ud be enough to make a man swear, and declare he *would not* stand it, even in those old long-winded days. But be the motive what it might, out went the original leaves V v v v v v .j. to I i i i i i i 6, or p. 1419-1538; and instead of them were put-in a new V v v v v v .j., or p. 1419, 1420; a new leaf signd A, B, C, D, E, paged 1421, 1490; another leaf signd F, G, H, I, paged 1491, 1536; and another leaf not signd, but paged rightly 1537, 1538.

twentith of Nouember, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and foure . . . .

[1] "George Brooke the fourth sonne, hauing by an accidentall chance in his youth some imperfection in one part of his bodie, being borne on saturdaie the last of Julie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand, fiue hundred, sixtie nine, is so well indowed with the gifts of nature, and so furthered therein by the helpe of studie, which he imploied in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, where he receiued the degrée of master of art in the yeare of Christ one thousand, fiue hundred, eightie and six, that he fullie and more recompenseth that accidentall imperfection, with naturall and procured beautie of the mind, and therefore with *Ouid* (a man more wittie than welfauored) may iustly saie: *Ingenio formæ damnæ rependo meæ*."—*Ib.*

[2] The "Advertisement" to the 4to reprint of Holinshed in 1807-8 contains nothing about the reasons for the castrations. Hearne says "a great many sheets (beginning in p. 1419, and ending in p. 1575 [that is, 1535]) were castrated or suppressed, because several things in them gave great offence."

[3] Leicester 1585, p. 1419, col. 1, ends p. 1424, col. 2, l. 9.

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The new p. 1419 reprints its first 33 lines, ending with "interteined" from the original; then winds-up in 16 lines, l. 34-50, three pages (1424-6) of Stow's description (from the book of one Archer,) of Leicester's triumphant reception at Flushing, and his progress to Middleborough, Rotherodam, Delph, Donhage; and then, at l. 51, after bringing him to Leyden, reprints from the original (p. 1427, l. 22, to p. 1429, l. 54) the description of the Leyden "seuen seuerall shewes that follow", his return to Donhage, &c., and the Placard containing the Authority that the States gave him to govern the Low Countries, save only that lines 63-9, 72-3, p. 1420 of the reprint, abstract shortly, longer passages of the original.

We then find on the substituted p. 1421, from l. 50, col. 1, to l. 39 col. 2, a statement and document not in the original (so far as I can see), Leicester's 10 "Lawes for capteins and souldiors". Next come 5 lines, 40-4, from the original p. 1429, l. 39-41, followd by 2½ lines of summary, 1 line from p. 1430, l. 44 of the original—"the tenth . . of March he came from Harlem to Amsterdam";—then again a statement (to l. 63) not in the original, about three or four hundred poor and sick English soldiers relievd by the Utrecht folk.

With l. 64 of the substituted p. 1421, begins a column of reprint from the original, p. 1433, col. 2, l. 23, to p. 1434, col. 1, l. 28. Then the castrator leaves the sumptuousness of the Utrecht banquet on St George's Day 'to the imagination of the reader,' and Leicester 'in the hands of God,' saying "we will heere leaue the netherlands, and approach to matters of England." Stowe's 10 leaves are thus cut down to 2. But now comes the cutting down of poor Francis Thynne's hundred pages (1434-1454) to one column! Had Stowe a hand in it, and was he calld "one inferior personne" for it? Let us hope not: he had himself lost four fifths of his Low Countries tale. Well, the substituted leaf in l. 15-29 of p. 1490 (back of p. 1421) col. 2, reprints from the original, p. 1434, col. 2, l. 57, &c., the passage about the beheading of the two Seminary Priests, the burning of the poisoning Wench, and the appointment of Archbp. Whitgift, Wm Lord Cobham, and Lord Buckhurst, given on p. lxxxii, below. It then winds-up Francis Thynne's 100 pages in the following innocent way,—and afterwards (p. 1491, col. 1, l. 15) simply reprints the original, p. 1535, though it cannot make its pages coincide with the original's till the end of p. 1538 is reacht:—

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"And here, as in other places of these chronicles, where we haue set downe certeine collections of right worthie personages in high calling and verie honourable office, we are lead by some reason to deliuer a catalog of *the names (at least) of such archbishops* as haue successiuelie possessed the metropolitan see of Canturburie, therein implieng their antiquitie and authoritie, &c: and from thense proceed to saie *somewhat of the lord Cobhams and lord wardens of the cinque ports* as a matter of some consequence, by means of the mutuall aduancement at one instant, which hir highnesse of speciall grace vouchsafed them both. And to begin with Canturburie, being first named, you shall vnderstand that Augustine the moonke (according to the receiued opinion of chronographers) was the first archbishop which occupied that metropolitan see; next whome succéeded one Laurentius, then Melitus, Iustus, Honorius, Deus-dedit, Theodorus, Brightwaldus, Tatwinus, Nothelmus, Cutbertus, Beguinus, Lambertus, Athelardus, Wilfredus, Theologildus, Athelredus, Plegmundus, Athelmus, Wolfelmus, Odo Seuerus, Dunstanus, Ethelgarus, Siricius, Aluricius, Elphegus, Liuingus, Agelnothus, Edsinus: and so forward with the residue before and after the conquest, which, being multiplied by vnities, doo make vp the complet number of three score and twelue.

Pag. 1435, a 10. [*which the Castrator had cut out of the book.*]

The number of Archbishops of Canturburie from the first to the last.

"Where, by the waie, we might touch the varietie of their names (sith authors therein doo dissent) as also the time wherein they liued and flourished, with some commemoration of their acts and deeds, both in church and commonwealth. *But this kind of discourse being ecclesiasticall, is vnproper for this secular historie:* wherefore, labouring no further therein, we will remit the reader to such authors as 'Ex professo' haue amplie treted of that argument: minding now, by waie of note, in a few lines to touch the thrée late priuats, as they haue succéeded ech other since the coronation and regiment of hir maiestie: the first of whom was Matthew Parker, whose predecessor, Reg. Poole, dieng, he was aduanced, and inioied the same aduancement certeine yeares, (hauing béen the seuentith archbishop of that see) during which time he did much good diuerse waies, deseruing well, not onelie of the church, but also of the commonwealth. But hauing spoken elsewhere of this man, we will here staie our course; concluding this collection of archbishops in their successions, with the two reuerend diuines and doctors, the one, Edmund Grindall late deceased; the other, Iohn Whitegift now liuing; of whom, no more but silence, for vertue dooth sufficientlie commend hir selfe. Now order would, that we should descend into a discourse of the lord Cobhams & lord wardens of the cinque ports, remembred before, page 1435, a 10 [cut out by the Castrator], *but herein the reader is patientlie to put vp the disappointment of his expectation, vpon supposall of some reasonable impediment whie the same was not satisfied.* And now to the course of our historie, orderlie to be continued."

[*Reason for leaving out F. Thynne's Lives of the Archbishops.*]

[*No reason given for cutting out Thynne's Lives of the Lord Cobhams, &c.*]

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We can fancy our just-turn'd author's disgust at having his longest and most carefully compil'd collections thus quasht. He must have sympathiz'd with his Father on the traditional forct cancelling of his first edition of *Chaucer* (p. xli-ii above). But as we have no record of any complaint of his treatment, though he had so many chances of making several in his different MS. treatises, we must suppose, either that he grinnd and bore it, seeing its reasonableness, on political or literary grounds, or that, as *his* copy was not castrated, he dwelt in happy ignorance that other copies were.

To get the reader into Thynne's style, to show the nature of the man, and the character of his work, I give longish extracts from the beginnings or ends, or both, of his continuations of, and insertions in, *Holinshed;* namely, from

a. a. his Forewords to his Continuation of the *Annales of Scotland* (p. lxx); and *b.* his 6 Lists of Nobles or Officers in that Continuation (p. lxxi-iv), all in *Holinshed,* vol. ii;

β. his eleven Collections of Lives pitchforkt into the *History of England,* one each under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary; and 8 under Elizabeth[1]:—

1. The High Constables of England (p. lxxiv).
2. The Protectors of England (p. lxxv).
3. The Cardinals of England (p. lxxv).
4. The Dukes of England (p. lxxvi).
5. The Treasurers of England (p. lxxvii): Lord Burghley (p. lxxix).
6. The Chancellors of England (p. lxxix).
7. The Earls of Leicester (p. lxxxi).
8. The Archbishops of Canterbury (p. lxxxii).
9. The Lord Cobhams (p. lxxxv); with
10. The Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports[2] (p. lxxxvi).
11. The Writers on England and English History (p. lxxxix).

a. a. Francis Thynne's Forewords to his *Annales of Scotland.*[3]

"The Annales of Scotland in some part continued from the time in which Holinshed left, being the yeare of our Lord 1571, vntill the

[1] They ought to have been printed as Appendixes, and not jumbl'd up with the tale of the events of Elizabeth's reign.

[2] A bit about the Dover works is added, because it bears out the good character given to the Elizabethan working men by William Harrison in his *Description of England* before Holinshed's *History*, which *Description* is an old favourite of mine, and is now being edited by me for my New Shakspere Society.

[3] As to his prior insertions, see I *b* in the List of his Works below.

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yeare of our redemption 1586, by Francis Boteuile, commonlie called Thin."

1586. Holinshed's *Chronicle*, (Br. Mus. case 2070. d.) Vol. ii., p. 405.

. . . Accept therfore (good reader) that which I doo suppose I haue best spoken (by this my argument grounded vpon Socrates) in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland vnwillinglie attempted, but by inforcement of others, whose commanding friendship it had been sacrilege for me to haue gainesaid. And therefore rather carelesse to hazard the hard opinion of others, descanting vpon *my sudden leaping into the printers shop, (especiallie at the first,* in a matter of such importance,) than the losse of the long and assured friendship of those which laied this heauie charge vpon my weake shoulders, I haue like blind baiard boldlie run into this matter, vnder the hope of thy fauourable acceptance. And though herein I shall not in euerie respect satisfie all mens minds and iudgements, that for fauour of persons, times & actions, will, like Proteus, at their own pleasure, make black seeme white, alter euerie matter into euerie shape, & curiouslie carping at my barrennes in writing, bicause I omit manie things in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland, & haue reported things in other formes than some mens humours would haue had me to doo: I must desire thee to consider for the first, that the Scots themselues, besides manie others of our owne nation, are the cause thereof, who either for feare durst not, or for pretended aduise and consultation in the matter would not, or for the restreint of others might not, impart to me such things as should both concerne the honour of the Scotish nation, and the substance of their owne cause[1]. For the other matter, if I should bind my stile to the affections of some, I should breake the rule of Socrates, and not speake the best, sith I should then speake publike and common things, publikelie knowne to all men, contrarie to that order, in which they were commonlie and publikelie seene to be doone of all men; and so by that meanes fall into the reproch of a disdeined reporter. . . .

[*p.* 406. *at foot*]. Now before I knit vp this exordium (which may seem to thee in respect of the following historie, to be like the towne, the gates and entrance whereinto being verie great, occasioned Diogenes to will the inhabitants to shut those great gates, least that little towne did run out thereat). I am to admonish thee good reader, that in all my former additions to the historie of Scotland, I haue neither word for word, nor sentence for sentence, set downe the writings of Lesleus or Buchanan, but haue chosen out the matter as I thought best and apt to my desire. After which sort I haue likewise in this my continuation of the annales of that countrie, not set downe or deliuered things to the world in that sort and stile as I haue received intelligence thereof, but

[1] "Also it is naturally geuen, or els it is of a deuyllyshe dysposicion of a Scotysh man, not to love nor favour an Englyshe man." 1542-7. Andrew Boorde: see my edition, p. 137, 59. That the enmity lasted on into James's reign, see the end of Tom Tell Trothe's "free discourse touchinge the Murmurers of the tymes."—Addit. MS. 11,308, Brit. Mus.

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ouelie culled foorth such matter as both the time wherein we liue, the matter whereof I intreat, and the method required therefore, may well beare and chalenge. Thus hauing laid before thee, that he writeth best that trulie writeth publike affaires, that I was commanded by my deere freends to enter into this sand; that I cannot discourse of this historie as I willinglie would: that I ought not to forbeare to write bicause I cannot in stile and manner equall the best: that they are to be pardoned that attempt high things: that I haue purposelie in generall dedicated this labour to the common reader, and not in particular to anie honourable person: and hoping that thou wilt pardon all imperfections, I sparinglie enter into the continuation of the annales of Scotland (being such as thou maist be content to read, & I am contented to write) in this sort as heere followeth, making my first entrance thereinto with the death of the earle of Lennox, with whome Holinshed finished his chronicle; and so to the matter, after this long and tedious deteining of thee from the same.

Francis Thin.

a. b. He then goes on with the history for ten pages without any list or catalogue of any class of ministers or nobles. But he can then restrain himself no longer, and on p. 417, col. 1, l. 31, breaks out:

(1) "Wherefore, to passe ouer the same, I thinke it not vnméet in this place, sith we haue mentioned this Morton which was the last regent, gouernour or protector, of the kingdome, to set downe a catalog of all such regents and gouernours of that realme, as haue come to my knowledge, after the same sort as I haue done in England, at the end of the gouernment of the duke of Summerset, who was the last protector of that realme; into the discourse whereof I enter as followeth.

"The protectors, gouernours, or regents of Scotland, during the kings minoritie, or his insufficiencie of gouernement, or during his absence out of the realme."

ends p. 421, col. 2, l. 20. "Thus setting end to the discourse of the protectors of Scotland, let vs descend to other matters which haue succéeded."

And he goes on with his history (Lord Chancellor Glamis's murder) for 18 lines, but then again starts off, on l. 38, with

(2) "After the death of which lord Glames, the earle of Atholl was aduanced to that place, and inuested with the title of lord chancellor of Scotland. Wherefore, hauing so good occasion therefore at this time by talking of this earle of Atholl, thus made lord chancellor, to treat of that office; I thinke it not inconuenient in this place, nor disagreeable to the nature of the matter which I haue in hand, somewhat, by waie of digression, to discourse of the originall of this office in Scotland, of the etymon of the name, and other circumstances belonging thereto."

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ends p. 422, col. 2, l. 21. "Thus this said for the originall and name of the officer called the chancellor, of whose succession we will talke hereafter, and will now returne to the matters of Scotland in this sort."

After this he keeps to History again for four pages. Then he comes across a Duke, and that sets him off. Has he not made a list of English Dukes? Of course he ought to make a list of Scotch ones. And having accomplisht that for the home-made Dukes, what else can he do but add another list of foreign-made ones, though they in number are only four?

(3) [p. 426, col. 2, l. 28.] "After which, sith I am now in discoursing of dukes of that countrie, and haue shewed when the first duke was made in Scotland, and who they were: I thinke it not vnfit for this place, to set downe a catalog of all such dukes of Scotland as haue come vnto my knowledge by search of histories, since the creation of the same first dukes, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and eighteene; which I will not refuse to doo in this place, *following the same course which I haue obserued before in the historie of England*, where I haue set downe all the dukes, since the first creation of anie duke in that countrie. Wherefore thus I enter into my dukes of Scotland.

"A catalog of all the dukes of
Scotland by creation or
descent."

ends p. 428, col. 1, l. 19. "Thus hauing set downe all the dukes which haue beene in Scotland, we wil descend to such Scots as haue inioied that title in a forren nation.

(4) "That diuers of the Scots haue obteined the title and honor of dukes in forren countries."

ends p. 429, col. 1, l. 9 .... "of whom, [James, Earl of Arran, made Duke of Chatelerault by the French king in 1554,] I haue intreated more liberallie in my discourse of the protectors of Scotland, and therefore meane not to speake anie thing of that here: wherfore leauing these dukes, we will returne our pen to other matters doone in Scotland."

Then comes a long period of self-restraint, 25 pages without a list. But an Archbishop affords him relief:

(5) "In which place, sith I haue mentioned Patrike Adamson, the archbishop of saint Andrews, because I shall not haue occasion to speake anie more of him, I will here set downe a collection of all the archbishops of that see."

[p. 454, col. 1, l. 34.] "A Cathalog of the archbishops of saint Andrews, collected out of the histories of Scotland." to p. 455, col. 2, l. 67. *Hol.* ii.

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(6) Lastly comes the one legitimately-placed list:

[leaf 457, col. 2.] "A generall catalog of the writers of Scotland, with the times in which they liued, as well of the yeare of Christ, as of the reigne of Scotish kings.

BEfore I enter into the discourse thereof (which I speak not by waie of impeaching anie glorie of the Scotish nation) I must deliuer the opinion which I conceiue of some of the Scotish writers, set downe by manie of their historiographers, who (sauing correction) finding manie learned writers to be termed Scots, doo transferre them all to their owne countrie of Scotland. But in that, they seeme vnto me (holding the same for this present vntill I may sée good authoritie to disprooue it) to be ouer couetous in taking from other that which is their due. For I doo verelie suppose, that manie of those men so termed Scots, were Irishmen borne. For vntill late yeres, a little before the conquest (if my memorie faile me not,) the Irishmen were called Scoti or Scots; wherevpon it is, that the Scots and Irishmen, at this daie now knowne by seuerall names, doo challenge *Duns*, *Colimbanus*, and others, to be borne amongst them, some calling them Scots, and other naming them Irishmen, and rebuking the Scots for chalenging those men vnto them. For although the Scots came out of Ireland, and the Irish were called Scots, it is no reason to call a Scot borne in Ireland, by the name of a Scot borne in Scotland, as some writers doo vnder the amphibologicall name of Scot. But I (whose determination is not to aduance the one, or derogat from the other) will onlie in this place set them downe as I find them, & shew the different opinions touching the same, still leauing it to the iudgement of others, to thinke thereof as they please; for I neither may, nor will, sit as *Honorarius arbiter* betwéene those two nations. Wherefore thus I enter into the catalog of the writers of Scotland as followeth."

[p. 464, 2nd col.] Thus setting end to my trauels touching Scotland (which I haue not performed as the maiestie of an historie requireth, but as my skill, helps, & intelligences would permit). I desire thée, reader, to take it in good part, remembring that *Vltra posse non est esse*, sith according to our old prouerbe, A man cannot pipe without his vpper lip. For being denied furtherance (as in the beginning I said) both of the Scots & other of mine owne nation, and thereby not hauing anie more subiect whervpon to worke, I can doo no more than set downe such things as come to my knowledge. And therefore contenting myself with this, that 'In magnis voluisse sat est'; I commit my selfe and my labors to thy fauorable iudgement, who, measuring my meaning with the square of indifferencie, and pardoning all imperfections in these my first labors, in respect of the shortnesse of time to performe the same (for I protest to thee that both the historie of England & Scotland were half printed before I set pen to paper to enter into the augmentation or continuation of anie of them, as by the inserting of those things which I haue doone maie well appeare) thou shalt incourage me hereafter vpon more lesure,

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and better studie, to deliuer to the world rare matters of antiquitie and such other labors of mine (*Absit verbis philautia*) as maie both shew the discharge of my dutie to God, to my countrie, to my prince, and to my friends. For though I maie seeme to be idle, yet I saie with Scipio, *Nunquàm minùs sum otiosus quàm cùm sum otiosus.*

β. We now pass to Thynne's 11 Catalogue-insertions in Holinshed's and his Continuers' History of England, *Holinshed*, vol. iii.

(1) *The High Constables of England. Holinshed*, iii. 865, col. 2, l. 63.

A conuenient collection concerning the high constables of England, which office ceassed and tooke end at the duke of Buckingham aboue mentioned.

THe death of this duke of Buckingham, being the last constable of England, dooth present apt place to me wherein to insert the names of all such honorable persons as haue béene inuested with that title of the constableship of England, an office of great account, & such as sometime was the chéefest place of a temporall subiect in the relme (the high steward excepted) whose power did extend to restreine some actions of the kings. Wherefore, [there] being now no such office (for there was neuer anie aduanced therevnto since the beheading of this duke), I thinke it not vnmeet to make some memorie of those persons possessing so high a place, least both they and their office might hereafter grow in vtter obliuion: these therefore they were. The collection of Fr. Thin in this yeare 1585.

Alfgarus Stallere, constable to Edward the Confessor, of whome thus writeth the historie of Elie in the second booke, written by Richard of Elie, a moonke of that house, in the time of Henrie the second, whose words, although they be somewhat long, I shall not gréeue to set downe in this sort . . . . . [*ends on* p. 870, col. 1 with] Alfgarus Stallere.

Edward Stafford, sonne to Henrie duke of Buckingham, (being also duke of Buckingham after the death of his father,) was constable of England, earle of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, being, in the first yeare of Henrie the seuenth, in the yeare of our redemption 1485, restored to his fathers dignities and possessions. He is tearmed in the books of the law in the said thirteenth yeare of Henrie the eight (where his arreignement is liberallie set downe) to be the floure & mirror of all courtesie. This man (as before is touched) was by Henrie the seuenth restored to his fathers inheritance, in recompense of the losse of his fathers life, taken awaie (as before is said) by the vsurping king Richard the third[1] . . . . And thus much by *Francis Thin* touching the succession of the constables of England. Edward Stafford.

[1] See Shakspere's *Rich. III*, act V, sc. i, iii.

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(2) *The Protectors of England*, 1585. *Holinshed*, iii. 1069, col. 2.

"The protectors of England collected out of the ancient and moderne chronicles, wherin is set downe the yeare of Christ, and of the king in which they executed that function.

The collection of Francis Thin in the yeare 1585.

VPon the death of this duke of Summerset, protector of England, it shall not be vnsitting[1] in this place to set downe all the protectors (whereof I can as yet haue intelligence) and who haue béene gouernors, regents, gardians, or deputies of the realme, and of the kings person during his minoritie and time of his insufficiencie of gouernement; or else of his absence being out of the realme; whereof I haue made an especiall title in my *Pantographie of England*, in which this my collection of the protectors, although perhaps I shall not set downe all (for *Barnardus non videt omnia*[2]), yet it is better to haue halfe a loafe than no bread, knowledge of some than of none at all. Thus therefore I begin" . . . . . *ends* p. 1081, l. 48: "Edward Seimer, knight, vicount Beauchampe, earle of Hertford, & after, duke of Summerset, was protector of the kings person, and of the kingdome, in the first yeare of king Edward the sixt, his nephue, which was in the yeare of our redemption 1546, the king being then but nine yeares old. Of this man is more spoken in my following discourse of all the dukes of England by creation or descent since the conquest; with which duke of Summerset, the last in office of protectorship, *Francis Thin* knitteth vp this simple discourse of the protectors of England of the kings person."

(3) *The Cardinals of England*, 1585. *Holinshed*, iii. 1165, col. 2.

[*Preamble*, ib. col. 1, l. 60. And thus much of cardinall Poole. Upon whose discourse presentlie ended, as hath beene doone in the treatise of high constables [See pa. 865] at the duke of Buckinghams beheadding, and of the lord protectors [See pa. 1069] at the duke of Summersets suffering, (in which two honorable personages, those two offices had their end,) so here we are to infer[3] a collection of English cardinals, which order ceased when Reginald Poole died. After which treatise ended, according to the purposed order, and a catalog of writers at the end of this quéenes reigne annexed[4], it remaineth that quéene Elizabeth shew hir selfe in hir triumphs at hir gratious and glorious coronation.]

The cardinals of England collected by *Francis Thin*, in the yeare of our Lord, 1585.

THis cardinall Poole being the last cardinall in England, and so likelie to be, as the state of our present time dooth earnestlie wish,

[1] *sitting* is 'suitable, fitting'. [2] Quoted before by Thynne, on p. lxi.
[3] bring in, our 'insert'.
[4] p. 1169, col. 2, l. 14 to p. 1169, 14 lines of the 2 cols :—Neither Thynne's name nor initials are to it :—then, "Thus farre the troublesome reigne of Queene Marie, the first of that name (God grant she may be the last of hir religion) eldest daughter to king Henrie the eight."

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dooth here offer occasion to treat of all such Englishmen as haue possessed that honor. Which I onelie doo, for that I would haue all whatsoeuer monuments of antiquitie preserued, least *Pereat memoria eorum cum sonitu*. Wherefore thus I begin

Adrian, the fourth of that name, bishop of Rome, (called before that time Nicholas Breakespeare) . . . . *ends* p. 1168, col. 2, l. 13: "Thus concluding (that of all these our English cardinals, with the description of their liues, I will more largelie intreat in my booke intituled the *Pantographie of England*, conteining the vniuersall description of all memorable places, and persons, aswell temporall as spirituall) I request the reader to take this in good part, till that booke may come to light. Thus much *Francis Thin*, who with the wheele of *George Ripleie*, canon of Bridlington, after the order of circulation in alchimicall art[1], and by a geometricall circle in naturall philosophie, dooth end this cardinals discourse, resting in the centre of Reginald Poole, the last liuing cardinall in England, by whose death the said *Francis* tooke occasion to pase about the circumference of this matter of the cardinals of this realme."

(4) *The Dukes of England. Holinshed*, iii. 1230, col. 2.

The discourse and catalog of all the dukes of England, by creation or descent, since the time of the conquest. [*In margin*] The collection of Francis Boteuile, *aliâs* Thin, in the yeare of Christ 1585.

TWo sentences, the one an Italian prouerbe, the other an old English byword, haue mooued me to make this collection (at the request of an other) of all the dukes of England. First, the Italian said that France cannot abide anie treasurors, England anie dukes, nor Scotland anie kings; the truth wherof need no confirming examples to be set downe, sith (as saith the philosopher) things subiect to the sense néed no further proofe. Secondlie, the English saieng hath been, that 'a Nag of fiue shillings shall beare all the dukes of England & Scotland'; being spoken in no sense of disgrace to that honorable title, but onelie to shew that the time should come, wherein there should be no dukes in England or Scotland. How true the same is in England, and likelie againe to be in Scotland (being once before verified in that realme; for about fiue years past, there was no duke there also when the duke of Lineux was banished,) euerie man dooth well perceiue. For the death of this Thomas duke of Northfolke, being the last of that honour, hath justified the same in England. And the turmoils in Scotland may perhaps shortlie verifie the same in that countrie, in which there were neuer so few dukes, as that they cannot make the first and smallest number; for being but one in that countrie, and he verie yoong, (which is the duke of Lineux,) if he should miscarie, the same would againe also be as true there as it is now here. For which cause, to perpetuat the memories of such antiquities and titles of honor as age hath consumed with the persons which inioied

[1] For F. Thynne's alchemical MSS., see p. 1, and his Longleat MS. in a note at the end of these *Hindwords*.

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such prehemences in England, I will, from the first creation of anie duke since the conquest, recite the creation, descent, and succession, of all the dukes of England, shewing first the time of the creation of such dukes, & secondlie the descent of all such dukes as are lineallie issued out of that creation, which follow as they came in one line.

Edward (the eldest sonne of king Edward the third) being surnamed the blacke prince, was made duke of Cornewall the eleauenth of Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1337, when he was yet but yoong. This yoong prince was the first duke in England since the Conquest, and Cornewall was by that creation the first place that was erected to a dukedome. Which duke, being the flower of chiualrie in his time, died about the fiftith yeere of king Edward the third; in the yeare of Christ 1376, and was buried at Canturburie . . . . . .

[*ends* (after quoting 'the worthie poet *Iohn Gower*' on Edmund Duke of Somerset and the other lords slain and buried at St Alban's in May 1455) *on* p. 1238, col. 1, l. 16, with John Sutton of Dudley, Viscount Lisle, Duke of Northumberland, who was, on Aug. 18, 1553,]

"arreigned at Westminster, there condemned, and beheadded on tower hill the two and twentith of the same moneth: whose bodie, with the head, was buried in the tower, he being the last duke that was created in England . . . And thus farre *Francis Thin*, touching the creation, and the succession in lineall descents, of all the dukes of England since the conquest."

(5) *The Treasurers of England. Holinshed*, iii. 1238, col. 1.

[*Preamble*, l. 48. The thirtéenth daie of Julie, the quéenes maiestie at Whitehall made sir William Cicill, lord of Burghleie, lord high treasuror of England: lord William Howard, late lord chamberleine, lord priuie seale: the earle of Sussex, lord chamberleine; sir Thomas Smith, principall secretarie: and Christopher Hatton, esquier, capteine of the gard.]

A treatise of the treasurors of England, set downe out of ancient histories and records, as they succeeded in order of time and in the reigne of the kings. [*In margin*] Collected by *Francis Thin* in this yeare of Christ 1585.

THis adorning of sir William Cicill knight, lord Burghleie with the honour of lord treasuror of England, hath rowsed my enuied pen thorough the malicious barking of some (who suppose nothing well but what they doo themselues, whereby gaine maie rise vnto their posteritie,) in this liberall sort to set downe the names & times of such treasurors as haue liued in England, as hereafter I will doo the chancellors[1], and that

[1] The readers of Holinshed should be thankful that they didn't get the Lords Chamberlain, and Privy Seal too, with the Principal Secretaries and Captains of the Guard: see Preamble.

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with as good authoritie as these secret backbiters can challenge anie cunning to themselues, who suppose euerie blast of their mouth to come foorth of *Trophonius* den, and that they spake from the triuet. As I will not arrogate anie thing to my selfe,—for in truth I saie with Socrates, *Hoc tantum scio, quod nihil scio*, or derogate from them that which their worthinesse maie merit,—so shall I be glad (sith nothing is at the first so perfect, but that somewhat maie be either augmented, or amended, to and in it) that this maie whet those enuious persons to deliuer anie thing to the world, that maie, in comptrolling my labours, benefit their countrie; which if they will not doo, let them cease their euill speeches: for *Qui pergit dicere quæ libet, quæ non vult, audiet.* And truelie for mine owne part, I will *Canere palinodiam*, and yeeld them an honourable victorie, if anie better shall be produced; and be heartilie glad, that truth (which is all that I seeke) maie be brought to perfection. Now how well I haue done it, my selfe must not be iudge, desiring pardon of such as, either with wise modestie can or ought to iudge, or with rare antiquities can or will correct what I haue doone, if thorough ignorance we haue committed anie escapes or imperfections: further promising, that if hereafter we espie any of our owne error; or if anie other—either friend for good will, or aduersarie for desire of reprehension—shall open the same vnto me: I will not, for defense of mine estimation, or of pride, or of contention by wranglings or quarrelling vpon authorities, histories and records, wilfullie persist in those faults; but be glad to heare of them, and in *the whole and large discourse of the liues of the lord treasurors* (almost perfected) correct[1] them. For (as I said) it is truth of antiquities that I seeke for, which being had, (either by good intention of my welwilling friends, or by occasion and reprehension of my enuious emulators) I greatlie esteeme not. And so to the matter.

Saint Dunstane (for I vse that name [Saint] more for antiquities than deuoutnesse cause) was treasuror to Eadred or Eldred, king of England, who began his reigne in the yeare that the word became flesh, nine hundred, fortie and six . . . . . .

p. 1253, col. 1, l. 4. The other house at this daie in honour, is the lord Greie of Wilton, knight of the garter, and sometime deputie of Ireland, a man of no lesse merit for his seruice abrode in the feats of armes, than is the other Greie [of Ruthine, Earl of Kent] for his seruice at home in the affairs of peace. But I will not saie all that I thinke and know of them both, least some, more maliciouslie than trulie, blemish me with the note of flatterie. For I protest I am so farre estranged from that, as I being not at all knowne to the one, and but slenderlie to the other, and neuer benefited by anie of them both, there is no cause why I should vse anie flatterie: and yet such force hath vertue, as it will shine euen in despite of malice. But againe to the matter . . . .

(l. 45.) Wherefore, to draw to an end of this lord treasuror [Edmund lord Greie of Ruthine, after, erle of Kent], who hath occasioned me to be more liberall in treating of him and the Greies, than of any lord treasuror

[1] *orig.* corrected

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or noble name besides (for manie priuat reasons which I reserue to my selfe) *I will yet speake more liberallie of him and the Greies in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurors of England*, and knit vp this Edmund Greie, lord treasuror, with the marieng of his wife Katharine, the daughter of Henrie Persie, earle of Northumberland, by whome he had issue, George Greie, earle of Kent; Elisabeth, maried to Robert, baron of Greiestocke; and Anne, maried to John lord Greie of Wilton.

. . . . . .

iii. 1256, col. 2, l. 64. This sir William Cecill lord Burghleie, liuing at this instant in the yeare of Christ one thousand, fiue hundred, eightie and six, to the great support of this commonwealth, dooth worthilie inioy the place of the lord treasuror of England, of whome (for auoiding the note of flatterie) I may not saie that good which we, the subiects of England, doo féele by his meanes, and all the world doth sée in his rare and wise gouernment. And therefore leauing what may be said of him for his honorable deserts, from his countrie, his prince, and his countriemen, as well for rare gouernement at home, as for graue managing of the matter of state abroad, I beseech the almightie Lord to lengthen his yeares with perfect health and happie successe of all his good desires, to answer the worth of those his honourable deserts. Thus knitting vp this discourse of the treasurors, with no lesse honorable person of the temporaltie in this our age, than I began the same discourse with a rare person of the spiritualtie [St. Dunstan] in that their age,—this being knowne as singular in policie, as the other was supposed to be in prelacie,—I here set end to that, which with much labour of bodie, trauell of mind, and charge of purse, I haue brought to this forme, what so euer it be. Thus this much by *Francis Thin* touching the treasurors of England."

We now leave Francis Thynne's insertions of his Lives, or Catalogues, of men, in Holinshed's own work, and come to those in the Continuation of him.

"*The Chronicles of England, from the yeare of our Lord* 1576, *when Raphaell Hollinshed left; supplied and continued to this present yeare* 1586: *by Iohn Stow, and others.*" (Hol. iii. 1268.)

(6) *The Chancellors of England. Holinshed*, iii. 1272, col. 1.

[The 25 daie of Aprill [1579], sir Thomas Bromleie, knight, was made lord chancellor of England.]

"The chancellors of England, collected out of sundrie ancient histories. [*In margin*] The collection of *Francis Thin.*

THe creation of this sir Thomas Bromleie lord chancellor, hath occasioned me to treate of the chancellors of England, a matter which I haue béene the willinger to set downe, because I would minister cause to others (who haue long wanted of their cunning in this matter,) to

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impart to the world some of their great knowledge herein, to the benefit of their countrie. But since I doubt that they will not accept this in good part till that come, And as I may, & perhaps doo, (in this) somewhat more largelie (than in the iudgement of others shall seeme answerable to the most receiued opinion touching the chancellors) treat of the antiquitie of them, so yet I haue no mind to erre, or to leade anie other into error. Wherefore, if things be not in perfection vpon this first rough hewing (as nothing is at the first so exquisit, as time dooth not after amend it,) yet disdaine it not, sith this may giue more light than before was knowen. And I determine, God willing, either to amend, or to confesse and auoid, in *the large description of their liues*, whatsoeuer imperfections haue now distilled out of my pen, either for mistaking or misplacing of name, person, or time; and so to the matter.

It hath beene some question amongst the best antiquaries of our age, that there were neuer anie chancellors in England before the comming of Edward the confessor out of Normandie, whome they suppose to haue brought the same officer with him from thense into the realme. But sith I am, with manie reasons and ancient authorities, led to beleue the contrarie, I will imbracc the contrarie opinion therevnto, and hold in this discourse (as the order thereof shall prooue) that there were chancellors before saint Edwards time; for the confirmation whereof, and for the authoritie of them; for the etymologie and originall of the name, and for the continuance of their office, thou shalt find an ample discourse *in my booke purposelie written of the liues of the chancellors*, whervnto I wholie refer thée, who, I hope, shall within these few yeares be partaker thereof; and in the meane time giue thee this tast of the age and names of the chancellors, and vicechancellors, and such keepers of the great seale as serued in place of chancellors. For euerie one that was kéeper of the great seale, was not intituled 'chancellor', no more than euerie chancellor was intituled 'the keeper of the great seale.' But because the one did serue in the vacancie of the other (so that after a certaine sort, the keeper of the great seale was vicechancelor, and possessed the place, though not the name, of a chancellor, as in our age Sir Nicholas Bacon did), we therefore haue set downe the names of the one and the other, as they followed in succession of time [from ab. 718 A.D.] after this manner." . . . . . .

[*Lives of the Chancellors, ends* p. 1287, col. 1, l. 2-27]

"Thus (although I maie be a little wetshod in passing ouer the deepe sea of this difficultie of the chancellors, in which I am sure I am not ouer head and eares,) I haue at length brought my chancellors to end: a worke of some labour and difficultie, of some search and charge, which I haue doone onelie of my selfe, without the furtherance or help of some others, who, more inconsideratlie than trulie, doo disorderlie report, that I haue atteined vnto this in obteining those names by some sinister means, from the priuat bookes of them who haue trauelled in the same matter. In which (as I said in the beginning, so I saie againe) if anie

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imperfection for hast, by reason of the printers spéedie calling on me, haue now fallen out of my pen, it shall hereafter, God willing, be corrected *in the large volume of their liues*. Wherefore as I neither estéeme nor feare the secret reports of some others: so for their countries good it shall be well that they would deliuer something to the world, to bring truth to perfection, (if other men haue vnwillinglie set downe error,) and not as they doo, for a litle commoditie & gaine to themselues, neither benefit their countrie, nor speake well of such as would and doo helpe posteritie. Thus this much by *Francis Thin*, touching the chancellors of England."

(7) *The Earls of Leicester. Holinshed*, iii. 1419[1], col. 1.

[*Preamble*, ib. l. 21-34. "In the moneths of Nouember and December [1585], manie horsses and men were shipped at the Tower wharffe to be transported ouer into the low countries. And on the first of December the right honorable lord Robert Dudleie, earle of Leicester, lord lieutenant generall (after he had taken his leaue of hir maiestie & the court) with his traine entred the towne of Colchester in Essex, where the maior & his brethren, all in scarlet gownes, with multitudes of people met him, and so, with great solemnitie, entred the towne, where he lodged that night, and on the next morrow, set forward to Harwich, into the which towne he was accordinglie received and interteined.]

"[2]A discourse of the earles of Leicester by succession. [*In margin*] The collection of the earles of Leicester, by Fr. Thin 1585.

"This going of Robert Sutton of Dudleie, the sonne of Iohn Dudleie duke of Northumberland, into the low countries hath occasioned my pen to treat somewhat of the earles of Leicester. Wherefore, sith there hath beene (some hundred yeares past) some noble persons indued with that honorable title of the erldome of Leicester before and since the conquest, therefore determining to make some mention of them, being a thing not common, and so much the more woorthie of continuance to posteritie, I saie, that if any shall thinke this discourse ouer briefe, and slender mention of such honourable persons, of their woorthie exploits, of their antiquitie, of their descents and succession; let him for this present satisfie himselfe with this, whatsoeuer it now be, untill it shall please God to give better abilitie & more time, to deliuer to the world the whole discourse of their liues, *which I haue alreadie roughlie hewen out of the*

[1] Hearne's Diary, vol. lxxiv. p. 240. *Notes out of Mr Bridges's complete Holingshede.* "The castrated sheets of Hollingshed beginn at p. 1419. col. 1. [Reg. Eliz. 27.] with these words, *A Discourse of the earles of Leicester by succession.* which Discourse is thus intit. in the Margin, *The collection of the earles of Leicester, by Fr. Thin*, 1585. [Thin acknowledges the Discourse to be too brief and slender, and therefore gives hopes of a larger one, the rough Draught whereof he had then by him, in which work (written in English) he likewise intended to treat of the other earles of this Realm. &c.]"

[2] Here begin the Castrations; see p. lxvi above.

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rocke in a booke purposelie intreating thereof in English, as I haue done of the other earles of this realme." . . . [Thynne then states, and assents to, the opinion that there were no earls in England before Edward the Confessor's time, 'but that they were onelie lords of those places whereof they were intituled', and then starts with Leofricus the first Earl, in Ethelbald's time, 'which Ethelbald was slaine about the yeare of our redemption seaven hundred, fortie and nine. He goes on for 5 leaves; and then 'Iohn Stow' takes up again his account of Leicester's embarkation from Colchester for Flushing, on his Low-Countries expedition.]

[*ends p.* 1424, *col.* 1] "Robert Sutton, alias Dudleie, knight of the most honourable order of the garter, baron of Denbigh, was created earle of Leicester in the sixt yeare of queene Elisabeth, being the yeare of our redemption, one thousand, fiue hundred, sixtie and foure, whose manner of creation I will omit, bicause it is alreadie set downe in the said yeare of Christ one thousand, fiue hundred, sixtie and foure. And thus much touching the earles of Leicesters in generall, and touching Robert Sutton, in especiall, whose honourable interteinment in the lowe countries (wherinto he entered in this yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie and fiue) deseruing not to be forgotten, dooth follow in this sort." . . .

(8) *The Archbishops of Canterbury.*

[*Preamble by J. Hooker* (? *or Stow*) *to* Francis Thynne's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury and the Lords Cobham.*

Hol. iii. 1434, col. 2. "On the one and twentith daie of Ianuarie, two Seminarie preests (before arreigned and condemned) were drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged bowelled, and quartered. Also on the same daie a wench was burnt at Smithfield, for poisoning of hir aunt and mistresse, and also attempting to haue done the like to her vncle. On the second daie of Februarie, or feast of the purification of our blessed ladie, doctor Iohn Whitegift, archbishop of Canturburie, William lord Cobham, lord warden of the fiue ports, and Thomas lord Backhurt, were chosen and taken to be of hir maiesties priuie councell: the two first, to wit, the archbishop & the lord Cobham, were sworne the same daie, and the third on the next morrow; who, being persons worthie that place, both in respect of their deserts for their former good cariage in the commonwealth, & for the gifts of nature & learning wherewith they are richly adorned, haue occasioned *Francis Thin* to make the like discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie and the lord Cobhams, with the lord wardens of the fiue ports, as he hath before doone in this chronicle of most of the other principall officers of the realme."]

"The liues of the archbishops of *Canturburie*, written by *Francis Thin*[1] in the yere of our redemption 1586. (*Hol.* iii. 1435.)

"Posthumus Labienus (good reader) when he wrot the Roman histories in Greeke, craued pardon of the reader. Wherevpon Cato the

[1] Hearne's Diary, vol. lxiii. p. 126. "The Author of all four [Discourses

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Elder did scoffinglie saie; Truelie he had been to be pardoned, if he had written in Greeke, as one compelled therevnto by the decree of the Amphictiones; the which like matter, also found in Aulus Gellius lib. 9. cap. 8. and spoken of Aulus Labienus, is the same historie vnder other names. For Gellius reciteth that Albinus, who was consull with Lucius Lucullus, did write the deeds of the Romans in the Greeke toong; in the beginning of whose historie he hath set downe, that none ought to be angrie with him, although that he hath not written eloquentlie in those books. For being a Roman borne in Latium, a part of Italie, the Greeke toong was but a stranger vnto him. Which worke, when Marcus Cato had read, and happened on this excuse of Aulus Labienus, he reprehendingly said: 'Art not thou Aulus a great trifler, which haddest rather craue pardon for a fault committed, than to be without the committing of a fault; sith we are accustomed onelie to craue pardon when we erre vnwittinglie, or offend by compulsion of others?' Wherevnto Cato further added: 'Te quis perpulit vt id committeres quod priusquam faceres, peteres vt ignosceretur?' Thus much out of Gellius. Whereby it appeareth, that in Plutarch reciting this saieng of Cato, the name of Posthumus Albinus is there to be placed; for these two, Aulus Posthumus Albinus, and L. Lucinius Lucullus, were consuls at the time when Cato persuaded that warre should be denounced vnto the rebelling Carthaginians: so that the same storie recited under the name of Posthumus, Aulus, and Albinius, is all but one thing, doone to and by one man having diverse names.

Which historie I haue not vouched, to the end that I would craue fauor for writing the dooings of other persons in a toong wherein I am skillesse; because it deserueth not anie pardon, that one should heedlesse and headlong, both wittinglie and wilfullie, run into that for which he must after craue pardon. But I haue set downe the same, to the intent that the wise sentence of Cato may not be forgotten, saieng that where we offend by ignorance or by compulsion, that there we may lawfullie craue pardon therefore. Which words of so graue, so wise, and so reuerend a person, incorageth me to craue pardon, if I haue offended in the discourse of these liues of the bishops of Canturburie (consecrated to thy fauourable acceptance) because I haue beene mooued and induced to the writing of them in a short space, by the intreatie of such of my friends, which vpon the inserting of this now archbishop of Canturburie, with the lords Cobham and Buckhurst (woorthilie sworne of hir maiesties priuie councell) in the new augmented chronicle of Hollinshed, haue with manie good speeches animated me vnder the bands & duties of amitie (than which a greater law or burthen can not be laid vpon anie man) to enter into this discourse of the archbishops,

of the Earls of Leicester, the Archbishops of Canterbury, the Lord Cobhams, and the Wardens of the Cinque Ports,] was the famous Antiquary Mr Francis Boteville, alias Thin. Several things in the Discourse about the Archbishops were taken from Mr Josceline's *Antiquitates Ecclesiæ Brit.*, which Book is commonly attributed to Archbp. Parker." [&c. &c.]

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being a thing neuer written before in our vulgar toong.[1] Wherevnto, although I am most vnapt amongest great numbers in this land, as well for the matter and stile, as for the shortnesse of time which I had therefore, (all which might feare a better man than my selfe to withdraw his pen from laieng abroad his imperfections,) yet I hope that courtesie, accompanied with a mild disposition of nature, will favorablie imbrace my good meaning, and beare with all other imperfections in the penning thereof, both because nothing is so exactlie handled, but that some Zoilus will some waie or other repine at it, and also because the reason which I haue before alleaged, and Cato hath warranted, is a sufficient defense for me, without offense, to craue pardon for the vnaduised entring into anie such vndertaken action, and a just cause to mooue thee not to mislike of this, or anie thing which we doo at the intreatie of our neere and deere friends vnworthie of anie deniall. In discoursing of which archbishops, I determine not to dispute of the antiquitie of the christianitie of this realme, neither of the state of christianitie infected with the Pelagian heresie (being streictened within the borders of Wales) nor yet of the hatefull paganisme with which all the rest of the parts of this Ile now called England was ouerspred, which Augustine the moonke of Rome (not the doctor of the church and bishop of Hippo in Africa) found here when he came first into this Iland, but onlie nakedlie to shew the time, the order, the succession, the deeds and names, with the honor and offices of the archbishops and metropolitans of the same see of Canturburie. Wherefore, for this time I doo in this homelie sort enter into the matter, taken (in some part) out of Matthew Parker, who learnedlie in Latine wrote the liues of seuentie bishops of that place, as here dooth presentlie follow. Augustine, &c." (*for* 64 *pages*).

(*The Lives of the Archbishops end on Holinshed*, iii. 1499, col. 1, l. 24.)

Afterwards, doctor Grindall, archbishop of Canturburie, dieng in the moneth of Julie 1583, it pleased God to put into her maiesties hart to nominat him [Whitgift] in August after, archbishop of that see, whose election therevnto was confirmed at Lambeth on the 23 of September following. And on the second of Februarie 1585, according to the computation of our church of England, being the 28 of hir maiesties reigne, he, with other worthie and honorable personages, was sworne one of hir maiesties priuie councell: which honor vnder hir maiesties most gratious gouernement, I praie God he maie long inioie. Thus hauing set end to the discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie, with this reuerend prelat Iohn Whitegift now liuing, order leadeth vs to a collection of the lord Cobhams, for that the lord Cobham now liuing is the next before mentioned to haue beene sworne of hir maiesties councell.

[1] "He [Archbp. Matthew Parker] wrote a booke in Latin of the liues of the Archbishops of that sée (as some affirme) which I haue vsed much in this discourse, of the liues of the archbishops of Canturburie." iii. 1495, col. 1, l. 61-5.

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(9) *The Lord Cobhams.*

A treatise of the Lord Cobhams with the lord wardens of the cinque ports; gathered (as well out of ancient records and monuments, as out of our histories of England) by *Francis Boteuile*, commonlie surnamed *Thin*, in the yeare of oure redemption 1586.

The diuine philosopher Plato, diuiding nobilitie into four degrees, saith; that the first is of such as be descended of famous, good, iust and vertuous ancestors; the second are they whose former grandfathers were princes and mightie persons; the third sort be such as be renowmed by worthie fame, in that they haue obteined a crowne and reward for anie valiant exploit, or in anie other excellent action in the feats of warre; the fourth and cheefest kind of noble men, are persons which of themselues excell in the prerogative of the mind, and benefit of vertuous life. For he is most rightlie termed noble, whom his owne dowries of the mind, and not an others worthinesse dooth nobilitate. Wherevpon Socrates, being demanded what was true nobilitie, answered: *Animi corporisque temperantia.* And Cassiodorus prooueth, that of all others, the nobilitie gotten by ourselues is the most excellent, when he saith, *Nobilitas à me procedens, est mihi cordi, plusquam quæ ex patrum procedit nobilitate: quia in quo desinit cuiusque nobilitas tunc auorum nobilitate congruè indiget.* The reason whereof, and the cause whie a man is counted most noble by his owne actions, the graue and morall Seneca hath appointed to be; the nobilitie of his mind, which alwaies seeketh to performe woorthie and honourable actions; for thus he deliuereth vs his opinion vpon the same: *Habet hoc optimum generosus animus, quod concitatur ad honesta. Neminem excelsi animi virum humilia delectant & sordida. Fœlix qui ad meliora imperium animi dedit: ponet se extra conditionem fortunæ, prospera tentabit, aduersa comminuet, & alijs admiranda despiciet.* Now if anie one of all these things by themselues in particular, falling in seuerall persons, maketh euerie such person noble, who tasteth but of one of these foure distinctions of nobilitie: how much more is that person to be termed noble, and rightlie to be honoured therefore, in whom all these four parts, or the most of them, doo concur; as to be descended of good, of mightie, of ancient, and of warlike ancestors, and himselfe not to degenerat from them, euen in the cheefest point of all others, which is in his owne actions, therein most of all to nobilitate himselfe and his posteritie. All which, as I haue persuaded myselfe, are to be found in one, who at this time (as is before said) was, amongest others, for his woorthinesse and merit aduanced to the estate of a councellor vnder the rarest princesse and queene of this our present age. Which noble person being so preferred to that place, ministreth iust cause to me to record some antiquities touching the lords of Cobham, and the wardens of the cinque ports; and that the rather, for that the lord Cobham now liuing, being the glorie of that ancient and honorable familie, not onelie meriteth well of his countrie, as after shall appeare, but is also an honorable Mecenas of learning, a louer of learned persons, and not inferior in knowledge to anie of the borne nobilitie of England.

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But leauing him for this instant to himselfe (of whome I cannot saie that which I ought, and he deserueth; and, for auoiding the note of flatterie, I maie not saie that which I can, and euerie man knoweth) I will orderlie descend to my purposed catalog of the lords of Cobham, and the wardens of the cinque ports, which I will set downe in that sort, as the pedegree of that neuer sufficientlie praised lord treasuror of England, sir William Cecill, knight, lord Burleigh, is deliuered to the world in my former discourse of the lord treasurors of England. [*pag.* 1228.] Wherefore thus I begin with the lord Cobhams. William Quatermer, &c.

(p. 1515, col. 2, l. 69.) "Thus hauing finished all my coorse discourse of these lord Cobhams, it is high time for vs now to descend to the lord wardens of the fiue ports: which office the honorable baron sir William Brooke, knight, lord Cobham of Cobham now liuing, dooth to his countries good, and his great honor, worthilie inioy, as some of his ancestors haue doone bifore."

(10) *The Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports.*

(p. 1516.) "The catalog of the lord wardens of the cinque ports, and constables of Douer castle, aswell in the time of king Edward, surnamed the Confessor, as since the reigne of the Conqueror, collected by *Francis Thin* in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourscore and six.

IT hath bin some question, whether this officer of warden of the ports were in the Romane and Saxons times, which truelie I am resolued was then vsed; and the officer rightlie to be called *Limenarcha*, the chiefe (as it were) of the borders of seacoasts, and the gouernor *Saxonici litoris;* which was of that shore which belonged to England, in Kent, on which the roming pirates of the Saxons lieng vpon the sea were woont to alland, and then to spoile the countrie. For the more explanation whereof, I refer thee to that learned worke of maister *Camden*, and will onlie bend my pen to such principall officers of those places as fall within my knowledge, as followeth.

Goodwine, earle of Kent, was constable of Douer castell, maister of the ports and those parts of the seacoastes, and had the towne of Douer in his keeping, in the time of king Edward the Confessor ....

(p. 1534, col. 2, l. 56.) "Sir William Brooke, knight, lord Cobham, was made constable of Douer castell, warden of the cinque ports, and chancellor of the same, after the death of sir Thomas Cheineie, in the first yeare of the quéenes reigne that now is, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and nine: of whom, because I haue spoken more liberallie in my discourse of the lord Cobhams of Cobham, I will not here saie anie thing but this; that he, hauing possessed this place by the space of eight and twentie yéeres, being much longer time than anie of his predecessors, hath (in executing that office) caried himselfe with such honor and loue, that he woorthilie deserueth, and his countrie hopeth he shall inioie the same, manie following yeares, to his owne honor and his countries benefit: whome I will here leaue in his princes fauor, and set end to all my discourses inserted in the new aug-

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mented chronicls [*so*] of *Holinshed*, with the succession of the lord wardens of the cinque ports."

After this, we cannot put down to Francis Thynne Reginald Scot's very interesting account, which follows the last-quoted paragraph, of the inspection by Lord Cobham in 1586, and the building in 1583, of the harbour-works at Dover[1]. The description of the works (in the *Continuation of Holinshed*) is done with relish, and reminds one of the railway embankment-making one has seen. I copy a bit which speaks of the workmen's cleverness and good behaviour, iii. 1546, col. 1, l. 17 :—

In the passage also of the courts [little waggons loaded with chalk, sleich, &c.], if (by chance) either man or boie had fallen downe amongest them (as sometimes some did) the hill was so steepe at some places, and the court was so swift, that there could be no staie made, but the courts must run ouer them, and yet no great harme hath happened that waie. And *I myself haue seene a* court loden with earth passe ouer the bellie or stomach of the driuer, and yet he not hurt at all therby. Manie courts also being vnloden (for expedition) were driuen at low waters through the chanell, within the pent, from maister lieutenants wall, whereby they gained more than halfe the waie: and so long as by anie possibilitie they might passe that waie, they were loth to go about. And when the flood came, the chanell did so suddenlie swell, as manie horsses, with their courts, and driuers which rode in them, were ouertaken, or rather ouerwhelmed with water, and were forced to swim, with great hazard of life, though therat some tooke pleasure. For sometimes the boies would strip themselues naked, and ride in that case in their courts through the chanell, being so high, as they were ducked ouer head & eares; but they knew their horsses would swim and carrie them through the streame, which ministred to some, occasion of laughter and mirth. Finallie, this summer, being in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred eightie & three, was verie hot and contagious, & the infection of the plague that yeare more vniuersallie dispersed through England than in manie yeares before, and that towne [Dover] verie much subiect

Dangers happilie escaped.

[Workmen run risks to take a short cut.]

Boies plaie. [The work-boys' pluck.]

[Though the Plague was very bad in England in 1583,

[1] Hearne's Diary, vol. xc. p. 131. Nov. 19, 1720. "Mr Anstis tells me that Dr Thorp of Rochester proposes to him my printing Mr Darrell's Hist. of Dover in the Heralds' Office, and a MS. on the same subject of Franc. Thinne in Mr Pepys's library. (&c.)" I've applied to the Magdalen Librarian for an account of this MS. As he's sent no answer, he's no doubt abroad.

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ther vnto, by meanes of throughfare and common passage, and had beene extremelie visited therewith not long before, so as the towne was abandoned of most men, yea, of some of the inhabitants themselues for that cause: and yet God blessed so the works, as in this extraordinarie and populous assemblie, there was in no part of the towne anie death or infection, either of townsmen, or workmen which resorted thither from all the parts of England.

yet no one in Dover took it.]

And one thing more in mine opinion is to be noted & commended herein, that is to saie, that in all this time, and among all these people, there was neuer anie tumult, fraie, nor falling out, to the disquieting or disturbance of the works, which by that means were the better applied, and with lesse interruption. For they neuer ceased working the whole daie, sauing that at eleuen of the clocke before noone, as also at six of the clocke in the euening, there was a flag vsuallie held vp by the sargent of the towne, in the top of a tower,—except the tide, or extraordinarie busines forced the officers to preuent the houre, or to make some small delaie & thereof,—And presentlie vpon the signe giuen, there was a generall shout made by all the workers: & wheresoeuer anie court was at that instant, either emptie or loden, there was it left, till one of the clocke after noone, or six of the clocke in the morning, when they returned to their businesse. But by the space of half an houre before the flag of libertie was hanged out, all the court driuers entered into a song, whereof although the dittie was barbarous, & the note rusticall, the matter of no moment, and all but a iest; yet is it not vnworthie of some briefe note of remembrance; because the tune, or rather the noise thereof, was extraordinarie, and (being deliuered with the continuall noise of such a multitude) was verie strange. In this and some other respect, I will set downe their dittie, the words whereof were these:

[Admirable behaviour of the Workmen.]

The flag of libertie

[hoisted to stop work.]

O Harrie hold vp thy hat! 'tis eleuen[1] a clocke,
and a little, little, little, little past:
My bow is broke, I would vnyoke;
my foot is sore, I can work no more.

[1] Or six

[The Dover-harbour workmen's song.]

This song was made and set in Romneie marsh, where their best making is making of wals and dikes, and their best setting is to set a needle or a stake in a hedge: howbeit this is a more ciuil call than the brutish call at the theatre for the comming awaie of the plaiers to the stage. I thinke there was neuer worke attempted with more desire, nor proceeded in with more contentment, nor executed with greater trauell of workemen, or diligence of

[Brutish call for the Players at the theatre.]

A commendation of them which wrought or had anie charge about Douer works.

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officers, nor provided for with more carefullnesse of commissioners, nor with truer accounts or duer paie, nor contriued with more circumspection of the deuisers & vndertakers of the worke, nor ended with more commendation or comfort. . . .

But though the Dover-harbour account is not Thynne's, no doubt the alphabetical list of writers on England and English History, on pages 1589—1592 of vol. iii, headed 'F. T.' in the margin, is by Francis Thynn . This is his introduction to it:—

"Now as Holinshed, and such as with painfull care and loue to their countrie, haue thought good, before me, to knit vp[1] the seueral reigne of euerie seuerall king with a generalitie of the seuerall writers in that princes daies, so haue I béene importuned by manie of my fréends, to knit vp[1] the said whole historie with a particular catolog of all such as haue purposelie in seuerall histories of this realme, or by the waie in the histories of other countries, written of England and English matter. For which cause (with the title of other anonymall chronicles) I haue here for that purpose, by order of alphabet set downe the same. Wherein, although I shall not set downe euerie mans name, nor of what time & qualitie euerie one was, (for he is not liuing, I suppose, that can doo the same,) yet hauing doone my good will therein, and that more than perhaps some others would haue doone, I praie thee to beare with the defaults, and accept that which I haue doone and could doo. And although perhaps I maie set downe one man twise, as first by his name, and then set downe the worke without his name, as another seuerall thing; yet is it not of purpose doone, or to the end that I would make a great shew, and seeme ambitious of names or knowledge; but for that I haue not as yet atteined to that perfection which hereafter I hope to doo in distinguishing of the same. For Rome was not built in one daie; & yet if one daies foundation thereof had not beene first laid, it had neuer beene after builded: and so to the matter." *Holinshed*, iii. 1589, col. 1, l. 42-70. Under P he notes "John Proctor, schoole-maister of Tunbridge, to whom I was sometime scholer." p. 1591, col. 1, l. 18. Under B, "Henrie Bradshaw, borne in Chester, a blacke moonke there in the time of Henrie the eight. John Burgh, a moonke in the daies of K. Edward the third" (the Continuator of Lydgate's englishing of the *Secreta Secretarum*) p. 1589, col. 2, l. 52-5.

ends p. 1592, l. 30. (l. 17.) "Thus far this catalog. Now peraduenture some will looke for a rehearsall omnigatherum of such as haue written in the reigne of our blessed souereigne: but herein as it passeth our possibilitie to satisfie their expectation, their number being infinit, and many of them vnknowne, and vnworthie of remembrance: so it were to be wished that some fauourer of learned mens fame, would comprise their

[1] Note the use of this phrase above, p. lxx.

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names and works in a particular volume, therein imitating either the order of Bale, or Gesner; or else the commendable method of Iohn Iames the Frislander, printed at Tigurie one thousand, fiue hundred, fourescore and thrée; either of which courses being taken, would well serue the turne."

11 r. *First application for a Post in the Heralds' Office.*

A Heralds' Office or a Record Office was the place that Francis Thynne was clearly meant for. All his studies and his instinct ran in that line, and he must have long desir'd an official standing. The present Record Office contains two documents showing both the nature of his work, and his wish for a Post of the kind:

1. *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, Vol. 219, Art. 20, ? Dec. 7, 1588.

"The answere of the presidentes produced by Mr neville against the ladye Fane. Sett downe by Francis Thynne." A paper (of 17 leaves), concerning the claim of Lady Fane to the title of the barony of Abergavenny. It contains "The generall answere to all suche presidentes as Mr. Edwarde Nevill producethe to prove the tytle of dignytye of a Baronye upone one entayle of the lande to the heire male in the collaterall lyne, to discend accordingelye to that heire male, and not to the heire female in the directe lyne beinge heire generall:" and "The perticular answeres to the severall presidents of Ed. Neville."

"The 'Generall Answer' occupies two sides of a leaf and a quarter; it is something like a counsel's 'Opinion,' taking up the points of Mr Neville's precedents, and confuting each one strongly. (The confuter lays much stress on "the reasone and maximes of the comone lawe.") The 'Perticular Answeres' consist of short pedigrees and detailed notices of ten baronies and two earldoms.

The paper throughout is not in Thynne's hand, but there are two endorsements, and several side-notes, consisting of references to Inquisitiones post mortem, Rolls, &c., which perhaps are in his hand. The pencil endorsement of date is "probably 7 Dec. 1588." The document is one among many on the same subject.

2. His Letter of Nov. 15, 1588, to Lord Burghley, lamenting his bad luck in being too late when he appli'd for a place in the Heralds' Office; stating the bad condition of the Office, and the petty jealousies among the officers; reviewing their characters; and saying, that while waiting for dead men's shoes, he, barefoot, will die before he gets their legacy in the shape of a Herald's post:

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Francis Thynne to Lord Burghley.

State Papers, Domestic, Eliz. Vol. 218, Nov. 15, 1588.

Your L*ordship* may suppose (Right honorable) *that* I haue muche idle tyme and litle wisdome, to write so often & spede so seldome. Whiche yf yo^{u} do, I ꝑpute to the frowarde heauens distyllinge there Influence in my natyvytye, wherin Saturne, beinge in his pryde, hathe as hardly thretened, as I haue heuely felte, the ouerthwarte procedinges of the two fyrste tryplicytyes or progressions of my lyfe now almost ended: All whiche yet I beare the moore pacientlye because I ame fedd withe a swete hope, that at the entringe into the thirde progressione of the cours of my yeres, the gentle Jupiter wyll expell his father Saturne oute of his kingdome, & so gelde hym of his malice that I shall for euer be freed from the tyrranye of his powre. Whiche I speake in all simplicytye, I protest vnto yo*ur* L*ordship*, because I Iudge that the denyall of my sute to mee, & the graunte therof to others by yo*ur* L*ordship* (sollicited for the same before my l*ettres*[1] came) is rather to be holden a thinge Incidente to my vnhappye fortune (then to their greate desartes) sithens yt is my happe euer to come to late. For whiche cause, the same whiche Plutarche recytethe of Pythias the proophett (answeringe one demaundinge whether he sholde enter into the managinge of the comon we[l]the or no) may Iustly be applied to mee, the prophetts woordes beinge, "Sero venisti, me de principatu et rei publice administratione consulens, & alieno tempore militiæ Ianua*m* pulsans". For the office of Norrey was gonne[2] before I came; The place of Chester was graunted before I sued[3]; the doore was locked; I knockt to late; I slepte withe fyve foolyshe virgins, and was depriued of that whiche I hooped throughe yo*ur* L*ordship* to haue obteyned.

Now where yo*ur* L*ordship* sayed that all the whoole colledge of hereaudes had sued for William Thomas[4], I ame gladd to here of so grete a sympathye betwene them: whiche yet, I feare, is not so muche for loue emongest them selues, as for hatred unto others. For (I dobte) suche is the corruptione of the place, that yt is not *catena aurea* but *aurata*, and hath for the presente tyme put one a flyinge tincture of golde, whiche, havinge no greate force, will easely vanishe awaye in smooke, yf yt coome to the examinacione of the fier of truthe. For howe so euer they shall seme to make an harmonye (havinge two bitter factions emongest them selues, for the meyntena*unce* whereof eche partye laboreth in that office to drawe euery one they canne to their side, in preferringe those in that office whiche wilbe beholdinge to them), yet is their suche Iarringe tunes in the greteste of their knowledge, that the truthe of manye antiquytyes and perdegrees shalbe ether meymed of her

[1] MS. Tres.

[2] promist: Edmund Knight (successor, as Chester, to John Hart, 4 Oct. 1574) was appointed Norroy in 1589, in the room of William Flower, ob. 1588.

[3] James Thomas (Bluemantle) succeeded Edmund Knight as Chester in 1589. The post must have been promist him in 1588.

[4] That is, James Thomas.

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best lymmes, or so bombasted *that* yt will shewe a thinge whiche yt is not; whiche I will sufficiently aduouche, yf Instances be called for at my handes. Whiche beinge true, dothe manyfest to the wo[r]lde that they cannott abyde the lighte of any other mans knowledge to enter emongest them, or nourishe any further knowledge in that office then their owne (as appered in the vnquencheable & moore then Vatinian hatred *whi*che they bare to Somersett departed[1]) no moore then the Batte canne abide the Light of the daye. But I will not Anotomyze euery perticular default of euerye manne and matter in that office. (Lest I might be counted one of the[2] foolishe sonnes of Martine Mareprelate;) Althoughe I knowe, that the glorious vanytye of Garter[3]; The subtill conveance of Clarenceauxe[4], the weake estate of Chester[5], the skyll of Richmonde[6], the pleyne meaninge of Yorke[7], The poeticall penne of Somersett[8], The smale knowledge of Lancaster[9], the feeble gouerm*en*te of Windsore[10], the blemished actions of Rouge Crosse[11], the smale experience of Rouge Dragon[12], & the late prefermente of Portcuylles[13] and Blewmantell[14], wold speake all they cold againste me, a stranger in that office. But I (layinge all my lyfe open to the worlde, and makinge my actions the towchestone of the honest cariage of my selfe,) feare not what theire malice canne saye to my disgrace; for in the ende, I hoope the rebounde of their owne brethe shall ouere throwe them, yf I shall coome to answere theire obiections, Whiche I speake, for that I knowe some of the greatest of that office (as them selues haue moore gloriously then wisely vanted to no meane councellors of state,) haue sayed somethinge of mee to yo*ur* Lo*rdship*, whose wisdome, measuringe all mens speches by the square of Iustice, is not easely to be caried awaye with euery Idle blaste, as I haue Iudged. But, my good Lorde, seinge yt fallethe from the mouthe of hym whome I haue alwayes honored and euer wyll, that yo*ur* Lo*rdship* hathe graunted yo*ur* fauor to one other[5] for the place of Chester, and that I ame excluded and hoopelesse of the Roome of an hereaude (all places beinge full,) vnlest I will expecte dedd mens shoes, (and so, beinge barefoote, were oute my lyfe before I possesse that legacye,) I do hold my selfe satisfied, determyninge hereafter to lyue in silence, (and lyke the snayle, not to come forthe of my shell,) vnlest I may by youre Lord*ships* meanes (to whose iudgment I co*m*mende my selfe) receue prefermente in the worlde.

Thus humbly crauinge pardone for my tediousnes, besechinge godd to sende yo*u* longe and helthfull lyfe, and desyringe yo*ur* Lo*rdship* to hold mee as one who hathe wholy consecrated his service to yo*ur*

[1] The celebrated Robert Glover, Somerset from Dec. 29, 1570, to April 10, 1588. [2] ? MS. thre. [3] Sir W. Dethick. [4] Robert Cooke.
[5] Edmund Knight (succeeded in 1589 by Jas. Thomas). [6] Richard Lee.
[7] Humphrey Hales (appointed 1587). [8] Wm. Segar (appointed 1588).
[9] Nicholas Paddy (appointed in 1588). [10] Nicholas Dethick.
[11] Ralph Brooke. [12] John Raven (appointed in 1588).
[13] Thomas Lant (succeeded Wm. Segar in 1588).
[14] James Thomas (succeeded Humphrey Hales in 1587).

ST. TUCKER, Rouge Croix, 1875.

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commaundemente, I dutyfully take my leaue. Clerken well, 15 of November, 1588. Your L*ordshipe* commande to his vttermoste

Francis Thynne

addrest—To the right honorable his singuler good lorde, the lord Tresurer, bee These.

endorst—Mr Francis Thinne to my l.

Thynne's signature, with the date 1589, 2 Julii, is on leaf 32 of the Sloane MS. 3836, a MS. in Thynne's hand, of 70 leaves, chiefly Arms (with sketches) and Monuments from Churches.

II *s. Speeches.*—In 1591 (or -91 and 92 if his "x of february 1591" is old style,) we find Francis Thynne one of the knot of men who were the forerunners of the present Society of Antiquaries. This knot of men was generally calld 'the Society of Antiquaries', but it must of course be distinguisht from its after-born namesake. "Sir Wm Dethick was one of the first members of the [old] Society of Antiquaries, and permitted them to hold their several meetings at his apartments in the Heralds' Office." (Lives of the Heralds, a MS. in the Library of Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Bart.: Hearne's *Cur. Disc.* ii. 451-2, ed. 1771.) One of their Notices of Meeting sent to Stow, a fellow-member of the Society of Antiquaries, and a fellow-continuer of Holinshed, with Francis Thynne (Hearne's *Cur. Disc.* ii. 440-443 (for 441), ed. 1771,) is printed by Hearne, *Ib.* vol. i. p. xv.

"Society of Antiquaries (To Mr Stowe).

The place appointed for a conference upon the question followinge, ys att Mr Garters house on *Frydaye* the ii of this Nouember, at ii of the clock in thafternoone, where your oppinioun, in wrytinge or otherwise, is expected.

The question is,

'Of the antiquitie, etimologie, and priviledges of parishes in Englande.'

Yt ys desyred that you giue not notice hereof to any but suche as haue the like somons."

Francis Thynne was a working member of the Society. Two of his speeches, in his own crabbed note-hand, are preservd in the Lansdowne MS. 254, Brit. Mus. He heads the first (leaf 38),

"my speche. The Thursday, the x of february 1591, at m^r^ Garters [Dethick's] howse in the office of the heraldes, vppon these questions.

1. Of what antiquytie the name of 'Barones' in Englande; of their creatione; and signyficatione of the worde.

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2. Of what antiquytye tenures are; and the forme thereof; with other matters belonginge thereunto. (*leaf* 35); ends "we sett end to this tedious and course discourse." leaf 41, bk.

Thynne's heading for the second (leaf 45) is

"my speache the xxiij daye of June a° 1591, in the assemblye of the Antiquaries at m^r garters howse aboute these questions followinge a° Elizabeth 33.

1. On the Antiquytie of Viconts, and of other thinges concerning tne same in Englande.
2. "Of the Antiquytie of 'sealinge'[1]; the forme therof; and the sealinge with Armes." This ends on leaf 52 with "And so fynishing this troblesome & confused discourse, I beseche yo^u to pardone all the imper[fec]tiones thereof, and not obiecte to me the sayinge of Salomon, that 'in multiloquio non deest peccatum.'

(The next 3 Articles in the Lansdowne MS. 254 are, 1.—on leaves 50-56, formerly 53-59—'A shorte Introduction for the easie vnderstandinge of that parte of the Arte of Herauldrie which handleth the descriptione of Noblemens Armes'; 2. on leaves 57-61, 'A breife description of the Erldome or Countye of Penbroke'; 3. on leaves 62-66 a treatise headed 'Gentleman'; on his name & degree; 'on Yeomene, & Esquiers.' These are not in Thynne's hand—so far as I can judge—and have no trace of being Papers for reading, but are set down as Thynne's in the Lansdowne Catalogue, which says

"These 5 discourses were delivered by Mr Thynne at the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries in the reign of Elizabeth, and some of them are stated to be in his own handwriting."—*Note in Lansdowne Catalogue*, p. 88, col. 2.)

Besides these speeches remaining in MS., it is clear—from Hearne's account in his *Curious Discourses*, and the words of his editor, in the 2nd edition of that book,—that Thynne either spoke before the Society of Antiquaries, or wrote for it, the following speeches or essays printed in Hearne's *Curious Discourses*:—

Of Sterling money. Art. VI, p. 20-3, ed. 1720.

Of what Antiquity Shires were in England. Art. IX, p. 33-42.

Of the Antiquity and Etymologie of Termes and Times for administration of Justice in England. Art. XIV, p. 54-61.

Of the Antiquity of the Houses of Law. Art. XXVI, p. 108-126.

Of the Antiquity of Epitaphs in England. Art. LXXVI, p. 251-6, vol. i, ed. 1771. (See β, Note 1, in List of Thynne's Works, below.)

On the Antiquity, Authority, and Succession of the High Steward of England. Art. V, p. 24-30, vol. ii, ed. 1771. (See β in List of Works.)

[1] Printed 'fealty' in the Lansdowne Catalogue.

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The Antiquity and Office of the Earl Marshall of England. Art. XXIII, p. 113-116, vol. ii, ed. 1771. (See β in List of F. Thynne's Works, below.)

These *Curious Discourses* were, says Hearne, Pref. p. xii-xiv, ed. 1771, copies "of the little dissertations that had been occasionally written by divers of the members" of the Society of Antiquaries that existed in the time of Elizabeth and James I, and was afterwards broken up (or 'off,' as Hearne has it, p. xiii), because it 'would be prejudicial to certain great and learned bodies,' and 'some of the society were persons, not only disaffected to, but really of a quite different persuasion from, the church of England'! Hearne's "late reverend and very learned friend Dr Thomas Smith," collected some of these essays, and "designed to publish them himself, for the use and service of the young nobility and gentry of England," but dying on May 11, 1710, 'left this Collection, among other curious papers' to Hearne, who publisht them in 1 volume in 1720. An enlargd edition "to which are added a great number of Antiquary Discourses written by the same Authors," was issu'd in 2 vols 8vo. in 1771, and re-issu'd with a new title-page in 1777. Vol. ii. p. 421-449 contains "A List of Such Persons who appear to have been Members of the Society of Antiquaries In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Together with some short Account of their Lives and Writings": their names—which I give as those of Thynne's associates—are, 1. Arthur Agarde, 2. Bp. Lancelot Andrews, 3. Robert Beale, 4. Henry Bouchier, 5. Mr Bowyer, 6. Richard Broughton, 7. Richard Carew (of the Survey of Cornwall), 7. Mr Cliffe, 8. Lord Wm Compton, 9. Sir Walter Cope, 10. Sir Robert Cotton (whose MSS. now form the Cotton Library in the Brit. Mus.), 11. Sir John Davies (of *Nosce teipsum*, &c.), 12. Sir Wm Dethick, Garter King at Arms, 13. Sir Jn. Dodderidge, 14. Mr or Dr Doyley, 15. Sampson Erdeswicke, Esq. (the Staffordshire Antiquary), 16. Wm Fleetwood, Esq. (the Recorder of London), 17. Wm Hakewill, 18. Abraham Hartwell (the last member admitted), 19. Michael Heneage, 20. Joseph Holland, 21. William Lambard (*Perambulation of Kent*), 22. Sir Thomas Lake, 23. Sir Francis Leigh, 24. Sir James Ley, 25. Michael Oldsworth, 26. Wm Patten (or Paton, of *The Expedition into Scotland*, 1548), 27. Mr Savel or Saville, 28. Sir Hy. Spelman, 29. John Stow, 30. Jas. Strangeman (of Essex), 31. Thomas Talbot (assisted Camden), 32. Francis Thynne, 33. Sir James Whitlock, 34. Thomas Wiseman, 35. Robert Weston, 36. Mr Jones.

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The Pedigree of William Lambarde, Esq. compiled by Francis Thynne on 14 Feb. 1591-2, was exhibited to the (new) Society of Antiquaries, May 22, 1862. (No. 16, in Messrs Coopers' List.)

II *t.* *Second application for a post in the Heralds' Office.* 1593, Dec. 2. *Francis Thynne's Letter to Lord Burghley.*

After waiting five years (p. lxxxix), Francis Thynne resolves to be in time for the appointment to a fresh vacancy in the Heralds' Office, and on Dec. 2, 1593, writes the following letter to Lord Burghley:

Lansdowne MS. 75, Art. 76, leaf 161.

I wolde most dutyfully (right honorable & my very good lorde) present my selfe vnto yo^{u}; and for that cause was yesterdaye at yo*ur* L*ordships* howse. But since I cannott, I ame, in place thereof, to Acknowledge my selfe and service (redye at yo*ur* L*ordships* disposition,) by my penne. Withe w*hi*che, desyringe yo*ur* L*ordships* fauor (the rather be cause yo^{u} willed mee to expecte the next auoydance wherin yo*ur* L*ordship* wold afford me yo*ur* honorable furtherance,) that I may, by yo*ur* meanes, (for I haue alwayes, and styll will, depende uppone yo*ur* L*ordship*, and one none other) atteyne to a place emongest the Heraldes.

How worthye I may be thereof, yt besemeth not me to speake; because, to prayse my selfe were vanytye, & to disprayse my selfe were follye; and to compare w*i*th anye of the office, were odious; yet this muche withoute offence I maye saye, that I beseche yo*ur* L*ordship* to put me to *the* triall, whether I may not in skyll of lerninge (euen in the depest pointes of Armorye, w*hi*che cannott be knowen w*i*thoute the mysteries of Philosophye and the iudgmente of histories) deserue that place as well as some others.

Manye, I knowe, haue, and yet doo, labore for the offices of Clarenceux and Norreye, of whome I ame not to speake, althoughe I knowe who they are, what they canne doo, howe lerned they be, howe mete for those places, Howe able to serue their prince & countrye, & of howe great contynuance in Haroldrye. But yet yf yt lyke yo*ur* L*ordship* to cast a fauorable lykinge to hym (w*hi*che hath wholy tyed hymselfe to yo^{u} & to yo*ur* howse) yt may be that he w*hi*ch cometh last, may be preferred with the firste.

My nowe contynuall trauayle, my L*ord*, is, in finishinge the worke of the tresurers of Englande, w*hi*che I haue brought vnto Henry *the* fourthe, and hoope to finishe before Easter next[1]; vntill w*hi*che (yf yo*ur* L*ordship* shall haue in lykinge to fauor my present suyte) I onlye crave of yo*ur* L*ordship* *that* some staye maye be made of bestowinge those offices vntill I haue fynished *that* booke of tresurers & certeyne cir-

[1] This is of course a different work from that on the Treasurers in the *Continuation of Holinshed*, iii. 1238, &c., p. lxxvii above, though no doubt the same as that therein promist, "my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurors of England," p. lxxviii above. See List of F. T.'s Works below.

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cutury[1] perdegrees of the Erles & Vicontes of Englande, w*hi*che in mynde I haue alredye consecrated to yo*ur* honorable Protectione. Howe muche I haue alredye donne of those thinges (yf yt please yo*ur* L*ordship* to see in suche rude and indigested forme as they bee) I wyll weyte vppon yo*ur* L*ordship* with them, whene yo*ur* L*ordship* will vouchesafe mee admyttance to yo*ur* presence, by appointinge a tyme therefore; for otherwise I knowe not howe or when I shall fynde yo*ur* L*ordship* at leysure, or willinge therunto. Thus in all duytye I humbly comende me to yo*ur* honorable furtherance, & comytte yo*u* to godd, who sende to yo*ur* L*ordship* manye happye yeres, and to me the contynuance of yo*ur* vndeserued fauor. Clerkenwell Grene, this 2 of December, 1593.

Yo*ur* L*ordships* wholye to dispose,

Francis Thynne

./ ././. /. /.

[*addresst, on outer leaf*]
To the righte honorable
his singuler good lorde
The Lorde Tresurer
. be these .

[*endorst, with a wrong date*]
20 No. 1593
Mr Fr: Thinne to my l*orde*
For preferm*t* to y*e* place of
one of y*e* K*inges* at Armes

For his appointment, Thynne has to be patient, and wait still above eight years, meantime working away. Part of his work is in the Sloane MS. 3836, notict on p. xciii, above, and in the Cotton MS. Vitellius E. V.: see his List of Works, below.

To his relief, no doubt, his wife died, without issue, in 1596.[2]

II *u*. *Discourse of Arms*.—Jan. 5, 1593-4 is the date of Francis Thynne's "Discourse of Armes": [3]"A Discourse of Arms, wherein is shewn the Blazon and Cause of divers English, Foreign, and devised Coats, together with certain Ensigns, Banners, Devises, and Supporters, of the Kings of England." MS. formerly in the Library of Ralph Sheldon, Esq., of Beoley, and given by him in 1684 to the College of Arms. Dedicated to William, Lord Burghley, dated Clerkenwell Green, Jan. 5, 1593-4.[3] To the College of Arms I accordingly went to ask for this autograph MS. Mr Bellasis, Blue-Mantle, the youngest Member of the College, kindly searcht for the MS. but could not find it; and now comes a letter from Rouge Croix, Mr Stephen Tucker, saying that the MS. has long been lost—or stolen:—

[1] ? MS. It may be 'circulary'.
[2] Messrs Cooper, *Gent.'s Mag.*, July 1865, p. 87.
[3–3] No. 17 in Messrs Coopers' list in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1865, p. 88.

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"Heralds' College, E.C., 1st Sep. 1875. Sir,—Your letter addressed to 'the Librarian' has been opened here with the ordinary correspondence of the Public Office, and is therefore answered by me, as I happen to be for this month on duty. We have no 'Librarian' *proper*, the collections are arranged, &c. by a Library Committee: We are all 'Librarians' in our regular rota of 'waiting.' I cannot tell you how much I regret to say that I cannot assist you in your search for Thinne's MS. Such a book, entitled 'A discourse of Arms', *was* here, and was known as 'No. 54' in the Collection of Augustin Vincent. Dale, who catalogued the MSS. in 1696, *then* noted it as missing. To this, Le Neve afterwards added a note, that it had since been *found*. However, when John Charles Brook (Somerset) made his Catalogue in 1774, it was again *missing*, and has not, I believe, ever since been heard of.

"This, I am sorry to say, is not a solitary instance of the loss of the College MSS.—though I am not aware that we have ever lost a *Record*."

II *v. Names and arms of the Chancellors, &c.*

On June 12, 1597, Francis Thynne finisht, and dedicated to Lord Chancellor Egerton, a MS. now in Bridgewater House, "**The names and Armes** of the Chauncelors, collected into one Catalogue by Francis Thynn, declaringe the yeres of the reignes of the kinges, and the yere of oure lorde in w*hi*che they possessed that office." *Motto* 'Je suis envie maugre envie, et pur ceo sortee pur bien ou ne sortee rien.[1]' The arms of the Chancellor are blazond at the back of the title, and 10 lines of Latin verse on them are written under them. Then comes, on leaves 1-16, Thynne's treatise on the origin of the office, and name of Chancellor. I take the personal bits at the beginning and end.

To the right honorable hys synguler lorde, Sir Thomas Egertonne, knyghte, lorde keper of the Greate seale, and master of the Rooles of the honorable courte of Chauncerye, Francis Thynn wyshethe manye happye and helthfull yeares.

Yt nedeth not (my verye goode lorde) to lay downe a cause or reasone whye I presente your lo*rdship* (beinge lorde keper of the greate seale, and havinge the auctorytye of the Chancelor) withe the names and armes of suche your predecessors as have possessed that place and preheminence. for besides that yo^{u} well merite this and moore from me (to whome your honorable curtesye hathe vouchesafed manye fauors beyoynde my desartes) your singuler vertues and ornamentes of nature and industrye (by whiche yo^{u} imitate, or rather excell, the fame of your predecessors before yo^{u} knowe their names and act[i]ons) doo and may iustelye challenge this Catalogue of the Chancelors and kepers of the greate seale to be offred vnto yo^{u}. Wherefor I will

[1] See the motto on the *Animadversions* title.

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saye no moore (for when I have sayed all, I shall saye to litle) of your worthynesse to possesse the place, and to knowe the names and armes of suche as in that honorable service of their prince and countrye have goonne before yo^{u}, not in excellencye of executinge their functione, but in the revolutione of the whele of tyme.

What care and industrye I have vsed in settinge downe that Catalogue of their entrance and contynuance in that place, and in aptinge the yeres of the kinges reigne to the yeres of Christe, modestye enyoynethe me not to write, vppon payne of havinge my cheekes steyned withe vermilione, and my credytte blotted with philautia[1], selfe love, and vanytie. And the daughter of tyme, I hoope, shall hereafter gyve sufficiente shewe to the worlde, and confirme this labor by the auctorytye of approued hystoryes, and warrante of vncontrolable Recordes, bothe whiche do weyte vppon my peine to witnesse what care I have had for the true deliuerance thereof. And for that cause nether praysinge nor disprays-inge my selfe (synce 'laudare se vani, vituperare se stulti est') I leave the consideracione thereof to your Lordships rare Iudgmente, the Eagles sighte whereof canne perce the sonne of all knowledge, and espye the imperfect[i]ons of all writers. 'Sed quo nunc proprepit iste?' I had almooste (in spekinge of your lordshipe vertues, and myne owne labors) looste my selfe, for the firste ys so spacious a fielde for mee to runne ouer, that I shall be oute of brethe befor I haue ended halfe my course; and the other is so barreyne, as yt affordethe not matter worthe remembrance, and so haue iuste cause to feynte before I doo beginne, and so to loose my selfe in boothe.

Wherefore to retorne 'in gradum,' I will prosecute the intente of my forespeche to this Catalogue, and (vnder your lordshipe correctione) bringe forthe suche thinges as I haue obserued in the gatheringe thereof, concerninge the originall, the antiquytie, the office, the auctorytye, & suche other thinges belonginge to the chancelor. Wherefore, in fynish-inge hereof, I ame to importune your Lordship to pardonne two grosse imperfections in this course discourse and Rapsodicall collectione of the Chancelors/. The firste whereof is, the tedious leng[t]he and the disordered compositione / and the other is, the deformed blotted and rude wrytinge. for excuse of the fyrste I hoope your Lordship will not laye before mee that whiche I herde one saye of a longe speche made by a frende of myne, 'Hic desinit flumen verborum et gutta mentis,' here endethe manye woordes and litle wytte,—alludinge to that whiche was wonte to be sayed when Aximenes vsed to speake to the people, 'hic incipit verborum flumen et mentis gutta,'—nor yet saye of these collected auctoryties as the selfe conceyted m^{r} Savile, prouoste of Eatone, is reported (*lf* 16, *bk*) to saye of Lipsius his politickes, that they be 'sententiæ pueriles' tyed together withe pointes. althoughe I know that our speche sholde be answerable to the proportione of moneye, wherof the lesser quantytye comprehendethe the gretest value, as apperethe in golde; and in fewest wordes is often tyme the gretest

[1] Us'd before, in the Scotland bit, on p. lxxiv, l. 2.

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wysdome, ... Yet since I ame lyke the peinter *whi*che cannott take his pensil from his worke before he marre his labor by addinge and changinge by ouermuche curiositie, and desire to have his picture well p*er*formed, I beseche yo*ur* Lo*rdship* not to thinke what I have donne but what I wolde and sholde have donne in avoydinge Battologia and manologia, wherinto I confesse I haue fallen ..... I leave that matter: And for the other falte, the blotted and rude wrytinge[1], I craue yo*ur* Lo*rdship* also to passe yt ouer, remembringe that 'sub sordido pallio latet sapie*n*tia,' and that we are taught by Christe not to iudge 'secundu*m* faciem aut vestem;' for pure wyne is no lesse comfortable to nature yf yt be dronke oute of a wodden vessell (wherinto yt is naturally first powred) then yf yt were receved oute of a cuppe of golde. And the swete chestnute is couered with a harse and rooffe coote, as is the peche and other delicate frutes. So that I nothinge dobte but that yo*ur* Lo*rdship* will p*ar*donne all imp*er*fect*i*ons hereof, withe that curtesye w*hi*che hitherto hathe alwayes accompanyed yo*ur* former act*i*ons; and accept this from me with such a mynde as I present the same to yo^{u}, for so shall yo^{u} encorage me herafter to consecrate somme other my labors to yo*ur* fauorable acceptance; & I fully rest satysfyed of yo*ur* good mynde towardes mee. Thus in all duetye co*m*mendinge mee to yo*ur* honorable good lykinge, & in all reverent love co*m*myttinge yo^{u} to the protect*i*one of the almightye, I cease any further to molest yo*ur* Loo*rdshi*p. Clerkenwell Grene, the xiij of June 1597.

Yo*ur* Lo*rdships* wholy to dispose

Francis Thynne /.

./ ./ ./ ./ ./.

Then follow blazons of the shields of the Chancellors, leaf 18 to leaf 22, and on leaves 24—50 "The collectione of certeyne Recordes founde in the rooles of the towre, concerning the Chauncelors and the tymes wherin they were inuested with that office,"—Latin documents from the Close and Patent Rolls, all copi'd in Thynne's own hand. Another hand has added on leaf 51 (as on 22, bk) the names of the later chancellors to 'Sir Heneage Finch, after, Lord Finch of Braintree; since Earle of Nottingham.'

In 1598, according to Messrs Coopers' list (*Gent.'s Mag.* July, 1865), Francis Thynne finisht his full "Lives of the Lord Cobhams" (see p. lxxxv), of which they give this account:—

"18. The History, Lives, Descents, and Succession of the House and Barons of Cobham, of which Line were three famous distinct Families, being the Lords of Rondale, and the Lords of Sterborow Castle, in Surrey. Collected according to the most approved truth,

[1] This treatise is not so carefully written as the other dedicated ones, though it is far better than Thynne's note-books are.

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Records, Evidences, Histories and Monuments of most reverend Antiquity," &c. MS. formerly in possession of John Verney. Dedication to Hen. Brooke, Lord Cobham, dated Clerkenwell Green, Dec. 20, 1598. A part of the original draft in MS. Addit. 12,514."

The former MS. I've not seen, and its whereabouts I don't know. The Addit. MS. 12,514 is part of an expansion of the *Lives* printed in *Holinshed*, iii. 1499-1515. See List of Thynne's Works, below.

On Oct. 24, 1598, Francis Thynne writes "From the Tower", says Canon Jackson, "where he seems to be employed[1], but on what does not appear."

On Feb. 28, 1598-9, Francis writes again from the place where he has finally settl'd down, "Clerkenwell Green." Both letters are addresst to the second Sir John Thynne, of Longleat, where they still are. Copies of them are not allowd me; but I suppose they are appeals to the dulld conscience of Sir John to carry out his father's agreement with Francis (p. xlviii above), or give him some money instead.

In 1598 and 1599, Thynne was at work again on his MS. note-book of Collections for History, &c., Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 11,388 (see p. xlix above); leaves 46 back to 63, contain a copy by Thynne of Roper's "Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore." Finis 26 maij 1598. Thynne says "This William dwelt at Elthame in Kent, and dyed aboute ."

leaf 76, *back*. "finis the Visitatione of Norfolke, made *anno dom*ini 1563 by William Harvye, clarenceuxe. finis 1599."

leaf 78, *back*. "finis 22 maij 1599. FRANCIS THYNNE.

(On leaf 172, back, in a copy of the household of Hen. VI, the name of one of Shakspere's men, 'the great Alcides of the field', catches my eye, "John Lord Talbot and Furnivall, after, Erle of Shrewsbery, Capteyne of Constence.")

For the year 1599 is enterd in Messrs Coopers' list a MS. that I can't trace:—

"20. Miscellanies of the Treasury, with the history of the lives of some of the lord treasurers." Written to Thomas Lord Buckhurst, 1599, but not completed. MS. formerly in the possession of John Anstis, King at Arms. The Messrs Cooper add "Extracts from the Lives of the Lord Treasurers in MS. Phillipps [the late Sir Thomas P.] 4,853." These are possibly copied from Holinshed.

[1] This explains the familiarity with the Tower Records which he shows in his *Animadversions*, p. 13, 14, 16, &c., which I wonderd at his possessing.

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II w. *Animadversions on Speght.* 1599-1600.

Francis Thynne inherited his father's love for Chaucer and manuscripts, and had made preparations for a new edition of his father's book, when, in 1598, his acquaintance Thomas Speght publisht *his* new edition of *Chaucers Workes*, and in his Preface insinuated that no editor before him had collated manuscripts for his text. Nor had Speght paid due homage to the hereditary editor Francis Thynne, by consulting him as to the new edition. This put the worthy herald's back up, and he took advantage of the custom of literary men presenting their noble patrons with a new book or treatise as a New Year's Gift, to write the following *Animadversions*,—dedicated and given to the friend of his 'yonger yeares' (p. ciii), Lord Ellesmere — snubbing Speght for his injustice to William Thynne, his presumption towards himself, Francis Thynne, and his ignorance, as shown by the many mistakes in his edition, of which the vext Francis gave him many specimens.

The most interesting part of Francis Thynne's *Animadversions* is, unquestionably, its personal part, its account of his father's first cancelld edition—if that can be trusted,—the interest taken in it by Henry VIII, the opposition to it of Wolsey, the exception of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* from the "Acte for thaduauncement of true Religion" (pages 6—10 below, and xiii-xiv above). But the critical value of Francis Thynne's comments is considerable. In only four main instances out of some 50 great and small, is he wrong[1] (as to Chaucer's grandfather being his father, p. 11; as to the *Dethe of Blaunche*, p. 27; 'herocs,' p. 44; and 'unserial,' p. 47, in the *Knight's Tale*). His notes on the dates of *the Nun's Priest's Tale*, p. 59—62; and of Queen Philippa's marriage (p. 14—16), are admirable; and the others on dates, historical matters, and the meaning of words, show scrupulous care in consulting authorities. Altogether, Chaucer students have much cause to regret that Francis Thynne did not carry out his declard intention of re-editing Chaucer (p. 75), and specially trying to distinguish the genuine works of the poet from the spurious ones attributed to him (p. 69). For, with William Thynne's collection of MSS., and specially that 'examinatur-Chaucer' one, Francis Thynne might have given us invaluable evidence—now, alas, irrecoverable—of

[1] His making the *Flower and Leaf* genuine, can hardly be calld a mistake in his time.

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what these MSS. said as to the authorship of the poems they containd, and might have sav'd Tyrwhitt, Mr Bradshaw, Prof. Ten Brink, and the rest of us, no end of trouble and uncertainty in this troublesome and delicate investigation. We can easily forgive Thynne's little touch of self-confidence (p. 75), that if God would lend him "tyme and leysure to reprinte, correcte, and comente" Chaucer's Works, he trusted they "mighte at leng[t]he obteyne their true perfectione and glorye." His contempt for John Stowe,—as Dr Kingsley and I assume—that "one inferiour persone" (p. 11) whose name he declines even to mention, is amusing, specially as Stowe calld Thynne his 'good friend':—

"Of whom [Archbp. Whitgift] I will say no more in this place, because I haue before, in the yeare 1600, said somewhat, and my good friend maister *Francis Thinne*, Lancaster Herold, hath also liberally treated of him in his booke of the liues of the Archbishops of Canterbury."—*Stowe's Annales* (1604), p. 1427.

But of course our identification of Stowe with the "one inferiour persone" may be wrong. Before Thynne's *Lives of the Lords Cobham*, &c., were cancelld (p. lxv above) he referrd to Stow as an authority:

"The maner whereof is set downe by *Iohn Stow*, and shall be more liberallie touched by me in my larger discourse of the lord Cobhams, hereafter to be set foorth.—*Hol.* iii. 1515, col. ii, l. 20-3."

And Francis Thynne is, I suppose, the 'one painefull antiquarie' mentiond by Stowe in *Hol.* ii. 435, col. 2, l. 56, as possessing the prophecy that he prints on p. 435 from Roger Wall, a herald.

Nov. 3, 1600, is the date of Thynne's treatise 'Of the Antiquity of Epitaphs in England', printed in the 2nd edition of Hearne's *Curious Discourses*, 1771, vol. i. p. 251-6, long after Hearne's death, on June 10, 1735. (See p. xciv above.)

II *x*. On Dec. 20, 1600, Francis Thynne dedicated to Lord Chancellor Egerton his "Emblemes and Epigrames," a 4to MS. of 71 leaves, with the motto "Psal: Quum defecerit virtus mea, ne derelinquas, domine," and in his Dedication he says that "some of them are composed of thinges donn and sayed by such as were well knowne to your Lordshipp and to my self, in those yonger yeares when Lincolns Inn societie did linke vs all in one cheyne of Amitie; and some of them are of other persons yet living, which of your Lordship are both loved & liked." ... "Thus, my good Lord, in all dutifull love commendinge these my slender

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poems (which may be equalled with Sir Topas ryme in Chaucer) vnto your good likinge, and comitting me to your honorable good favour and furtherance (to add oyle to the emptie lampe of my muse for mayntenance of the light thereof, which without the comfortable heate of your honorable patronage will soone be extinguished) I humblie take my leaue, from my howse in Clerkenwell Grene the 20 of December 1600. Youre Lordshippes in all dutye, Francis Thynne" (underdotted and dasht, as usual).

Of these *Epigrams*, two, on bad wives and Marriage, have been quoted above, page lvi-lvii. As I am printing the whole MS. for the Early English Text Society, the reader can refer to the print for Thynne's epigrams on his friends, and his opinions on Societie (MS., leaf 19), 'The waye to gett and keepe frendes' (leaf 43, back), 'Spencers fayrie Queene' (leaf 53, back), 'Camdens Britannia' (leaf 69), 'Leylandes rightefull ghost' (leaf 70, back), &c.

II y. *Essay on the Lords Marshal.*

1601, March 21. The Cotton MS. Julius C VIII contains, on leaves 89-93, a short treatise by Francis Thynne on the Lords Marshal of England, "Oute of the booke entituled *Domus Regni Angliæ*, conteyning the orders of the Kinges house, written in latine and English, being made in the tyme of King Edward the 4th./"

The tract of five leaves seems intended for dedication to some descendant of the Earl of Norfolk—whose descendants are now hereditary Lords Marshal of England, heads of the Heralds' Office or College of Arms;—and, after treating shortly of the name and office, ends thus:—

"Which Roger being in disgrace with king Edward the first, made the king his heire of both his Earledomes of Norff*olk* and Marshall, which honours the king left to one of his sonnes by his second wife, Earle Marshall, from whome *the* Mowbrayes and Howards hold the same office, as yt weare in right of their discents; of which lyne your Lordshippe is lineally extract, being discended of the howse of your Lo*rdshi*ppes name, w*hi*ch possessed both those titles of Norff*olk* and Marshall

"But of this we will not nowe speake any more, because the latter end of this booke doth sett downe a Cataloug of all the Earles Marshals[1]; and I meane hereafter to make a more liberall discourse of them in the forevouched booke of their liues, to be opened at large with all suche worthye actions as they haue performed. Thus, my good Lord, in all dutye humblye Comitting mee and my labours to your Lo*rdshi*pps fauor-

[1] Not in the MS.

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able Countenance and furtherance of my sute, & Comending your Lordshipp to the protection of the almighty, who send to your Lordshipp further increase of following honour, and to mee the vndeserued Curtesye which incourageth mee thus boldly to offer to your honorable acceptance this slender Collection, I dutifully take my leaue. Clerkenwell greene, the one & twentith of Marche, 1601.

Francis Thynne"
/. /. /.

II z. *Appointment as Lancaster Herald.* 1602.

We saw above, p. xc and p. xcvi, that in 1588, and on Dec. 2, 1593, Thynne askt Lord Burghley for an appointment in the Heralds' Office. After waiting more than 14 years, during which he made speeches (p. xciv), wrote treatises (p. xcv), and made collections (p. xcvii), no doubt to fit himself better for his Herald's work, he got, at 57, what he had sought at 43. Anstis's MS. History of the Officers of Arms (at the College of Arms), vol. ii, p. 559, under "Lancaster. Chapter xi, Sect. 13," says,

"*Francis Thynne*, an Ornament to this Title, was advanced hereto by Patent 44 Eliz.[1] dated 23 Oct. with a salary from the Lady day be-

[1] Pat. 44 Eliz. p. 17, printed in Rymer, vol. xvi, p. 471 [I add it :—

"Pro Lancaster Heraldo.

"Regina omnibus, ad quos &c. Salutem.

"Sciatis quòd Nos, de Gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa Scientia & mero Motu nostris, necnon in consideratione boni, veri ac fidelis Servitii quod, dilectus Serviens noster, *Franciscus Thynn* Armiger, nobis durante Vitâ suâ impendere intendit, fecimus, nominavimus, creavimus, erigimus, & investivimus, ac, per Præsentes, facimus, nominamus, creamus, erigimus, & investimus, eundem *Franciscum* unum Heraldorum nostrorum ad Arma, eiq*ue* nomen illud vulgariter nuncupatum *Lancaster* imponimus, ac Stilum, Titulum, Liberatem, & Præheminentias, hujusmodi Officio, convenientia & concordantia, ab antiquo consueta, damus & concedimus per Præsentes :

"Habendum & exercendum Officium illud, ac Nomen Stilum Titulum Libertatem & Præheminentias prædicta, præfato *Francisco Thynn* alias *Lancaster*, durante Vitâ suâ. Et ulterius concessimus, ac, per Præsentes pro Nobis, Hæredibus, & Successoribus nostris concedimus eidem *Francisco Thynn* alias *Lancaster*, singulis Annis durante Vitâ suâ prædictâ, pro Exercitio Officii prædicti, quandam Annuitatem sive annualem Redditum 20 Marc. bonæ & legalis Monetæ Angl. habendam & annuatim percipiendam eidem *Francisco Thyn* alias *Lancaster* a Festo Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis ultimò præterito durante Vitâ suâ, de Thesauro nostro, ad Receptam Scaccarii nostri, per Manus Thesaurarii & Camerariorum nostrorum ibidem pro tempore existentium, ad Festa Sancti Michaelis Archangeli & Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, per æquales Portiones, unà cum omnibus aliis Commoditatibus, Advantagiis, Præheminentiis, & Emolumentis, eidem officio debitis & consuetis, in tam amplis modo & forma, prout *Nicholas Paddy* aliàs *Lancaster* nuper

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fore, having been with ceremony created[1] on the 22 Apr. before (1602), at which time He was 57 years of age, and at that time he had the name of Blanchlyon pursivant given him.[2]—See the narrative of Rich St George, Windsor, then likewise created, in the custody of D. Rawlinson.—He was the son and Heir of Wm Thinne of Kent Esq.; Master of the Household to H 8; of the antiently knightly family descended from the Botevills; who had his first[3] Education in Tunbridge school under m[r] John[4] Proctor, who is gratefully remembred by him as one of the English Historians: thence He was sent to the University of Oxford, and, as He sayth himself, was afterwards a Member of Lincolns Inn.[5] m[r] Camden, a good Judge of Men, gives him the ample Character of having prosecuted the study of Antiquities with great Honour[6], stiling him an Admirable Antiquary[7], and in another place[8], that he had with great Judgment and diligence long studied the Antiquities of this kingdome."

II *A*. In 1602 came-out the 2nd edition of Speght's *Chaucer*, in which he availd himself of most of Francis Thynne's *Animadversions*, as the notes to the text below show. That Speght took Thynne's criticisms in good part is prov'd by his prefixing to his edition the following poor poem by Francis Thynne:

Vpon the picture of Chaucer.

What *Pallas* citie owes the heauenly mind
Of prudent *Socrates*, wise Greeces glorie;
What fame *Arpinas* spreadingly doth find
By *Tullies* eloquence and oratorie;

habuit, aut aliquis alius, sive aliqui alii Heraldorum nostrorum nuper habuit aut percepit, habuerunt & perceperunt pro Exercitio Officii prædicti.
Eo quòd expressa mentio &c.
In cujus rei &c.
Teste Regina apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quarto Die Octobris
Per Breve de Privato Sigillo"
(Rymer, Fœdera. xvi. 471, ed. 1715.)

[1] B 2, penes me, p. 332, in his own writing.—Anstis.
[2] The custom of the office is, for a man to serve first as Pursuivant, and then be promoted. But outsiders are occasionally made Heralds.
[3] "Ant. a Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, vol. 1, p. 319."
[4] "Hollingshead's Hist. p. 1591," (p. xlviii, above.)
[5] "penes me, p. [not in]. In his letter at the end of the Advocate and Anti-advocate." (This is a mistake: see p. xlviii, above. It is Thynne's *friend's* Letter at the end of the *Advocate and Ant'advocate*, which is "from Lyncolnes Inne this :28: of Marche :1604:" *MS. leaf* 64. Thynne's own letter, MS. leaf 65-6, is "from my house on Clerkenwell greene this :xiij:[th] of Maye, 1605:" as on page cxiii.)
[6] "*Britannia* in English, in the preface, p. Clxix."
[7] "In Cambridgeshire." [8] "In Yorkshire, p. 714."

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What lasting praise sharpe-witted Italie
By *Tasso's* and by *Petrarkes* penne obtained;
What fame *Bartas* vnto proud France hath gained,
By seuen daies world Poetically strained:

What high renowne is purchas'd vnto Spaine,
Which fresh *Dianaes* verses do distill;
What praise our neighbour Scotland doth retaine,
By *Gawine Douglas*, in his *Virgill* quill;
Or other motions by sweet Poets skill,
The same, and more, faire England challenge may,
By that rare wit and art thou doest display,
In verse, which doth *Apolloes* muse bewray.
Then *Chaucer* liue, for still thy verse shall liue,
T'unborne Poëts, which life and light will give.
Fran. Thynn.

Chaucers Workes (Speght's 2nd ed.) Lond. 1602, fol. Sign. b. j. (Brit. Mus. Press mark, 83. l. 4, King's Lib.)

Directly after this, comes another sonnet, which I at first took to be a compliment to Francis Thynne, the Writer of our *Animadversions;* but as Speght is praisd by name in the sonnet, I suppose we must take "The helpefull notes" to mean Speght's Life of Chaucer, and the Head-notes which he has put before nearly every 'Tale' as well as longer 'Minor Poem.'

Of the Animadversions vpon Chaucer.

In reading of the learn'd praise-worthie peine,
The helpefull notes explaining *Chaucers* mind,
The Abstruse skill, the artificiall veine;
By true Annalogie I rightly find,
Speght is the child of *Chaucers* fruitfull breine,
Vernishing his workes with life and grace,
Which envious age would otherwise deface:
Then be he lov'd and thanked for the same,
Since in his love he hath reviv'd his name.

ib. sign. b j.

Mr Lemon (*State Papers, Domestic, t. 7 Eliz.* ii. 559) gives as Francis Thynne's an endorsement on Paddy's vacated appointment of Lancaster Herald which Thynne himself afterwards filld:

"June 7. Westminster

Grant and appointment of Nicholas Paddy *alias* Rouge dragon, to the office of Lancaster Herald for life, in place of John Cocke, Lan-

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caster. Indorsed, 'Offic. uñ Heraldꝺ ad arma nuncupatur Lancaster. per [Franciscum] Thynne. April 1602.'"

An autograph collection of Pedigrees &c. made by Francis Thynne in the years 1602-5 is now the Harleian MS. 774.[1] It has 40 leaves of his work; the 4 that include the table, are not in F. Thynne's hand.

[1] Harl. 774, examined by Miss L. Toulmin Smith: copy of notes in F. Thynne's hand, giving his authorities for the respective pedigrees.

Leaf 1, back. "this perdegree was deliuered to m^r campden, Clarentieux, by an outlandishe gentleman called Vanhere, written with his owne hande from whence I copied this: 25 Febr. 1602. F. Thynne." *Fiennes.*

Leaf 2, back. "oute of ane olde Role written aboute the tyme of edward the thirde kinge off Englande or the kinges of france and belonginge to an outlandishe manne w^che brought yt into Englande and lent yt to Mr Campden Clarenceuxe a° 1602 who lent yt vnto mee. Wherefore muche avouching the howse of Bullen is confermed by oure auncient historyes". This seems to be a Pedigree of the *Dukes of Lotharingia.*

Leaf 3, back. "ex relatione christophorij Aubry 14 maij 1603". *Willoughby Lord Broke.*

Leaf 4. "oute of the office of the harolds 16 Maij 1603". *Willoughby of Eresbye.*

Leaf 4, back. "Somersett glover, in the perdegre of the lord Willoughby of Eresby, last made by hym a° 1586, a litle before the death of glover". Repeated on leaf 5. *Beke Lord d'Eresbye.*

Leaf 6. "collections of Richarde Seint george Windsore Harolde". *Rogiers.*

Leaf 7, back. "ex relatione elenero Edolphe vxoris willelmi Page armigere a° 1603". *Tustone.*

Leaf 8. "Ex relatione Andree Amyers". 14 Maij 1604. *Amyers.*

Leaf 9. "the copye of a perdegre sent to me by Mr Edward musgrave, knight of the shire for Cumberlande at the first parliament holden by kinge Jeames, a° 1603: et 19 martij when the same beganne". *Teillolle, Musgrave and Weston.*

Leaf 9, back. "oute of a perdegre, a° 1604, sett downe by Smythe Rougedragon, for the house of Essex of Lambourne". *Greseley.*

Leaf 10. "oute of perdegre a° 1604, sett downe by smythe, Rougedragon, for the howse of Essex of Lambourne". *Casteneis.*

Leaf 10, back. "Mr Smjthe, Rugedragon, 1604 in the pedegre of Essex of Lamburne". *de Shottesbrook.*

Leaf 11. "Mr Smyth, rugedragon, a° 1604 in the perdegree of Essex of Lamburne". *Rogers de Benham.*

Leaf 11, back. "29 Nouember 1604. ex relacione rowler warde". *Peers.*

Leaf 13. "collections and perdegre made by Mr Drurye 1604". *Petit.*

Leaf 32, back. "ex relacione Rowler warde 29 nov^r 1604". *Underhill.*

Leaf 33. "ex relatione willelmi Hale, 29 novemb. 1604." *Hale.*

Leaf 33, back. "ex relacione Johis Hamond doctoris in medicina 20 novemb. 1604:" *Hamond.*

Leaf 34. "ex relacione Ric. Cabell etatis 23 an. et hoc relatio fuit 5 Decemb 1604". *Cabell.*

Leaf 34, back. "ex relacione Ric. Cabell, 5 Decemb. 1604". *Leuersege.*

Leaf 35. "this a° 1604 was taken oute of the visitacione of London made by Harvye Clarenceux". *Heywarde.*

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The fly-leaf is signd "Francis Thynne Lancaster, 24 Januar. 1602."

The MS. is in Thynne's hand, except the last page, which bears the date 1609.

II *B*. In 1605, Francis Thynne composed, wrote out in most careful wise, and dedicated to King James, "The Plea betweene the *Advocate* and the *Ant'advocate*[1] concerning the Bathe and Bacheler Knights, wherein

Leaf 37, back. "ex relatione Johannis Dormer de Dorbrinalet [?] febr a° 1604". *Dormer.*

Leaf 38. "collections of Raphe Brooke Yorke harolde". *Nevill.*

The Pedigrees in Harl. 774 have no titles. The following is a list of the chief of them. The writing is very bad.

Leaf	1, bk.	Fiennes.	
„	2, bk.	? Dukes of Lotharingia.	
„	3, bk.	Willoughby Lord Broke.	
„	4.	Willoughby of Eresbye.	
„	4, bk.	Beke Lord d'Eresbye.	
„	5.	Roscelyne.	
„	5, bk.	Reade.	
„	6.	Rogiers.	
„	6, bk.	Cheyne.	
„	7.	Fitzwilliam.	
„	7, bk.	Tustone.	
„	8.	Amyers.	
„	8, bk.	Musgrave.	
„	9.	Teillol and Westone.	
„	9, bk.	Greseley.	
„	10.	Casteneis.	
„	10, bk.	Shottesbroke.	
„	11.	Rogers de Benham.	
„	11, bk.	Peers.	
„	12.	Talbott and Grey visct. Lisle.	
„	13.	Petit.	
„	13, bk.	Bradshawe.	
„	14.	Butler.	
„	15.	"Gentlemen of Cheshyre do begyn here."	
„	15.	Tymperley.	
„	15, bk.	Aston.	
„	16.	Aldersey.	
„	17.	Chetilton.	
„	17, bk.	Broke of Leighton. Brad-	
„	18.	Bolde. [felde.	
„	18, bk.	Calcott, Chetwood.	
„	19.	Dodd.	
„	20.	Griffyne, Hawkestone.	
„	21.	Hockenhall.	
Leaf	22.	Hayes, Hulmes, Houghe.	
„	22, bk.	Hyde.	
„	23.	Hassall, Huxley, Lecester.	
„	24.	Moreton.	
„	24, bk.	Newtone.	
„	25.	Nuthall.	
„	25, bk.	Roope, Rotter.	
„	26.	Sutton, Smythe.	
„	27.	Smethwicke.	
„	27, bk.	Spurstowe.	
„	28.	Warren lord Vernon.	
„	28, bk.	Tilstone.	
„	29.	Wynnington.	
„	29, bk.	Wilbram.	
„	30.	Wynnington, Rode, and Rowe.	
„	30, bk.	Wright.	
„	31.	Wetnall.	
„	31, bk.	Woodnet.	
„	32.	Gilbert.	
„	32, bk.	Underhill.	
„	33.	Hale of London.	
„	33, bk.	Hamonde.	
„	34.	Cabell.	
„	34, bk.	Leversege.	
„	35.	Heywarde.	
„	35, bk.	Buckley.	
„	36.	Catherall.	
„	36, bk.	le Birde.	
„	37.	Dormer.	
„	37, bk.	Dormer.	
„	38.	Nevill.	
„	38, bk.	Montacute.	
„	39, bk.	Brakenbery.	
„	40, bk.	Dauy and Parker.	

[1] Messrs Cooper say that another copy is in "MS. Lambeth 931, f. 42. There was a copy in the library formed at Naworth Castle by the famous

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are heard manye Antiquityes towchinge knighthood by *Francis Thynne* Esquier, Lancaster Herolde. Tandem aliquando in meliora." His autograph copy, with the King's arms on the sides, which are sown with fleur de lys, is now the Additional MS. 12,530 in the British Museum. It was bought for the Museum at the Strawberry Hill sale at Robins's Rooms on June 21, 1842, having been given to Horace Walpole by Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, in 1786. The MS. is a folio of 66 leaves, the treatise ending on leaf 59 back, and being followd by 1. a criticism from a friend of Thynne's on the tract, written "from Lyncolnes Inne this :28: of Marche 1604"[1] (that is, 1605), 2. Thynne's answer to his friend the censurer; and, 3. a second answer or letter of Thynne's (leaves 65, 66) "from my house on Clerkenwell greene this xiijth of Maye 1605.·."[2] In his signature, "Lancaster" is written—as elsewhere—between his name and the dashes and dots under it. The Dedication and the conclusion of the Treatise follow:—

To the right highe and mighty prince James, by the grace of God Kinge of Great Brytayne, France and Irelande, defendor of the ffaythe, Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herrold, his Maiesties dutifull servant, most humbly presenteth his seruice in all submission.

When I had, my dread Soueraigne, fynished this worke, what soeuer it be, many pregnant causes offered themselues to mooue me to dedicate the same to the honorable Comissioners[3] substituted in place of the Earle Marshall, to whom vnder your sacred Maiesty it duly belongeth,

Lord William Haward. An imperfect copy in Univ. Libr. Camb. Mm. 6, 65." *Gent. Mag.*, July 1865, p. 89.

[1] Hearne's Diary, vol. cvii. p. 117. May 2, 1725. "On Friday night last I received a Letter from Mr Anstis, in which he tells me, that he chances to have a Copy of Mr Thinne's book, (who was Lancaster Herald, and a very learned, as well as industrious Antiquary) bearing the Title of *Advocate and Anti-Advocate*, and has referred to it, as deserving to be published. . . . . I have published in my collection of *Curious Discourses* what Pieces I had of Mr Thynne's."

[2] Hearne's Diary, vol. cix. p. 97. Sept. 13, 1725. "Mr Anstis that night told me, that if I would publish Thynne's Book about Knights of the Bath (in which is a great deal of excellent Learning) he would let me have the use of his MS. & other pieces of Thynne that have not been yet printed."

Hearne's Diary, vol. cx. p. 6. Oct. 20, 1725. "Mr Anstis, in his Letter of the 15th inst. tells me, that if the treatise of Mr Thinne [that Mr Oldisworth told me of] be different from the *Advocate and Antiadvocate*, he should be very eager to see it, if that liberty may be obtained; though he is fully convinced, that in case it should be so, it must have been wrote by him before such time as he composed the *Antiadvocate*;" &c.

[3] Lord Burghley and?

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to dispose of matters of honor: emongst which causes, one was, that I am to them knowen, and soe might hope to haue this disordered answere the sooner graced by their favorable acceptance; whereas, being altogeather estranged from your Maiesties notice, I durst not presume to salute the same with so meane present as this simple booke, farre vnfitt the viewe, judgment, or defence, of so learned and worthye [a] kinge, and therefore fearefull to approche the beames of your splendor, [I] deemed it best to consecrate the same to those inferior lightes participating of the brightnes of your Regall Septer. But on the other side, remembring the saying of Marius Geminus to Cæsar, "Qui apud te, Cæsar, audet, dicere magnitudinem tuam ignorat, & qui non audet, humanitatem," And with that saying casting myne eyes vpon the endles boundes of the Oceane of your magnificent clemency, (which from the center of your bounty doth spreade it selfe into the circumference of all orders of your subiectes, as well highe as lowe, learned as vnlearned,) I some what gathered my selfe into my selfe, and casting a way all feare (for most duty is alwayes accompayned with greatest feare), I thought it my bounden Duty, and one especiall parte of my function, to offer to your Maiesty the frutes of my labore, which I haue gathered by the only Maynteynance and support of your Maiesties benevolence and liberallity; for since by you I lyue, and lyving must serue you, and serving you, must wholly imploye all my partes to performe what your Maiesty may justly challeng from me, being one officer of honor vnto you; I knowe none to whom I owe more duty, or to whom of right I might in any sort consecrate my labores in matters of honor, but vnto your Maiesty, the fountayne of all honor, from which those Comissioners doe deryue their authority. Wherefore hoping that your Maiesty will not permitt me your subiect, your seruant, your officer, alone of all others to departe sorrowfull from your presence, as one discountenanced in this disordered discourse, (since as the Emperour Vespasian saide, "non oportet quemquam a vultu Cæsaris tristem discedere,") I most humbly prostrating my selfe before the seate of your Clemency, that only Ancor of my hope, beseech that same fauorably to accept this whatsoeuer booke, gratiously do countenance the subiect thereof, (conteyning the worthynes belonging to the honorable degree of the Knightes of the Bathe,) and as princely to defende those Knights made in your Maiestys atteyning to the Crowne of England, as you haue most nobly graced them with that note of honor in the Bulla, Tablet, or ensigne of the triple crownes, environed with the Moot or word of "tria iuncta in vno;" for so shall the honor of those Knights made in your Maiesties tyme be no more obscured, or their shyne ecclipsed (by the emulation of others which ought not to dispute your Maiesties fact) then it was in the former and famous gouernment of your heroicall predecessors, whereof neuer any equalled your Maiesty in largnes of dominions, in aboundance of Clemency, in favour of the worlde, or in dowryes of the mynde, as all men knowe that can rightly judge./

Thus laying this booke and myselfe at your Maiesties feete, craving pardon for my presumption, hoping of your Inmerited favour, and desiring that the Tautologies, or needles repetitions in the answere

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(occasioned by *the* Aduocates manner of writing,) and all my other imp*er*fections therein may be ouer passed without mislike: I pray *the* Almighty Lord to send to yo*ur* Ma*iest*y happy gouer*nment*, multiplyed yeares, p*er*petuall health, and one euerlasting Kingdome in *the* celestiall world, to be added to yo*ur* augmented Kingdomes in this terrestriall worlde, therby to accomplish *the* quadrat number, *the* number of all p*er*fection. Wherewith I abruptly conclude, because I haue learned *that* "Qui cum Regibus loquitur, aut raro aut qua*m* breuissime loqui debeat." from my house on Clarkenwell Greene *the* 2 of Aprill, 1605.

Your Maiestyes
most humble
seruant
Francis Thynne
Lancaster
./ . / . / . / .

[*Conclusion.*]

Causes to induce precedency for ye Bathe Knights & their wiues.

That in Respect *the* Knights of *the* Bathe are a Distincte & peculer order: *that* they are more ancient then Bachelers: *that* they are more honorable in ceremonyes, *that* they haue still contynued *the* possession of *the* place: *that* they alwayes fought & serued under Banners of their owne, when Bachelers serued vnder *the* Banners of others: *that* they are selected for the honor of *the* King, & in *that*, *the* Kinge to honor them: *that the* statuts haue priuiledged them in their creation before Knights of *the* Garter & Banneretts: *that* they haue at all tymes one honorable place in princely proceedings aboue Bachelers: That they are honored with *the* note of their Robes vpon their toombes after their death: *that* they are to haue their spures in their funerall pompes to be caried before them by one **Harrolde**, w*hi*che *the* Bachelers hath not: *that* it is no spirituall nor officiall order: & *that the* King hath further honored them with *the* **Bulla** or tablet of his devise, to distinguishe them from other Knights: That now in like sort as in former tyme they ought to haue precedencye of Bacheler Knights[1]. & that their wiues (because they p*ar*ticipate of *the* Dignitye of their Husbands: because by Custome they haue obteyned & kept possession of their place: & because all *the* arguments alledged agaynst them by *the* **Aduocate** are of no validitye,) ought also to haue *the* precedency of *the* wyues of Bacheler Knights, therein to answere *the* Dignitye of their husbands :·/

The Ende of *the* Plea betweene *the* **Aduocate** &
the **Ant'aduocate** concerning Bathe
and Bacheler Knightes.

[1] Hence I assume that the following MS. in Messrs Coopers' list is only a copy of the *Advocate and Ant'advocate:* "47. On precedency of Knights of the Bath. MS. Phillipps 8,979, from the Library of Sir George Naylor. We presume this is the work, a copy of which is stated to have belonged to John Anstis, Garter King at Arms."

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The end of Thynne's answer to his friend's letter or comment (p. cvi, note 5) on the treatise is:—

"And therefore having nowe (more breifly then I desire or would haue done) delyuered my opynion, I doubt not but *that* you & all others (whose desire is nott to seeke a knott in a Rushe, or Spider-like to sucke poyson out of Flowers, & to peruert euery thinge well meant, by perverse exposition to *the* worse construction,) I doubt not, I say, but *that* you & all others will holde themselues contented with *that* Iudgement w*h*ich I haue before written in answere to *the* **Aduocates** sixt and Seauenth chapter; for otherwise both they and you should wronge me: Thus wishing to you as to myself, commendinge me to your favour, and Committinge you to God, I end ∴ from my house on Clerkenwell greene this :xiij:th of Maye. 1605 ∴"

II *C.* In 1606,—3 March 1605 *veteri stilo*—Francis Thynne had a bad attack of gout, as we find from Hearne's *Collection of Curious Discourses written by eminent Antiquaries*, 1720, p. 230.

"A Discourse of the Dutye and Office of an Heraulde of Armes, written by FRAUNCIS THYNNE Lancaster Heraulde the third daye of Marche anno 1605.

"My very good Lord [? Chancellor Egerton]

"That cruell Tyrante the unmercyfull Gowte, which triumpheth over all those that are subject to him, of what estate soever, takinge on him, in that parte to bee a God, because hee respecteth noe person, hath so paynefully imprisoned me in my bedd, mannacled my hands, fettered my feete to the sheetes, that I came not out thereof since I sawe your Lordship on Christmas Eve. But having by meere force at length shaken off the mannacles from my hands, (although I am still tyed by the Feete) I have now at the last (which I pray God may bee the last troubling my hand with the Gowte) attempted the performance of my promise to your Lordshipp, and doe heere send you a Chaos and confused Rapsodye of notes, which your Lordshipp, as an expert Alchimiste, must sublyme and rectifye" (p. 231). p. 268: "I humbly take my leave, as one wholye devoted to your Lordship, and in you to your honourable Famelye, further craving pardon for this goutye Scriblinge, distilled from the Penn guyded by a late gowtye hand.

Your Lordshipps in what hee maye
Fra. Thynne
Lancaster[1]

Clerken well Greene
the third of March 1605.
veteri stilo"

[1] For F. Thynne's writings and note-books undated—so far as I know—and therefore not workt into the foregoing Life, see the List of his Works below, Nos. 20, 23, 25, 32, 36, 37, 39, 40.

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This gout may perhaps justify the report in Hearne's Diary, vol. cix. p. 100. Sept. 14, 1725. "Mr Anstis told me the same time, that he had heard (from the Weymouth Family) that Mr Thynne, the Herald, tho' a very learned man, was a very hard Drinker."

On June 30, 1606, Francis Thynne writes again to Sir Thomas Thynne[1], asking for money, and signing himself "Lancaster[2]".

As Thynne did not surrender his Patent, and that of his successor in the Heralds' Office as Lancaster is dated November 19, 1608, Thynne no doubt died in that year.

Certain features of his character, Dr Kingsley has already sketcht (p. xii). His early extravagance[3] he aton'd for by his 2½ years' im-

[1] The third Baronet. Letter at Longleat: copy not allowd me.

[2] His arms were, 'Barry of ten, or and sable. Crest: on a wreath, a reindeer statant, or.'

[3] Canon Jackson's just-receivd note of an early (1573-8) volume of copies o. Alchemical Treatises by F. Thynne, now at Longleat, confirms my fancy that his early extravagance may have been due to his dabbling in Alchymy. He says he "was famyliar in practyse" with a writer on the subject:—

Treatises on Alchymy. MS. vol. at Longleat, containing:

1. Stella Alchymiæ: Libellus compositus a Joanne Bũbelem de Angliâ A.D. 1384. "Copied oute the 28. Oct. 1573 by me Francis Thynne."
2. The Ordinall of Alchymie made by Mr Norton of Bristowe. "He flourished in the year of our Lorde 1477 and was the scoller of Rypleye. F. T. June 1574."
3. Tractatus de Magnete. "Copied out the 20 Aug. 1574. by me F. T. Aut novus, &c." [as on page xlix above.]
4. Arbor philosophie. "A kind of pedigree of Philosophy."
5. Claudianus de Statuâ Martis et Veneris Magneticâ.
6. George Ripley's 12 Gates of Alchymy. "This was written out by me Francis Thynne at Longleat in Wiltshire & there fynished the 5 day of Aprill 1578. My strange," &c.
7. Certeyne Remembrances touchinge the two greate offices of the Seneschalsey or highe Stewardshipp of England and of the Quenes house. At the end "Thus much out of the booke called Domus Regis Anglie."
8. A Treatise on the Philosopher's Stone, with this heading. "This booke was made by Mr [Edwarde]* gent, and dedicate to Mr Haddon one of the Masters of the request to quene Elizabethe as here ensuethe."

"As the stone of Philosophers is most precious," ending "but also to dye at your foote. E. D."

Then follows:

"This was copied out the 9th of Sept. 1573 in the XV of Elizabeth from the originall of the hande of the said auctor* by me Francis Thynne *was famyliar in practyse* with the said auctor. Francis Thynne.

* "The name has been carefully erased in both places: Mr Horwood and I think the Christian name is Edward; the surname is illegible. The *initials* of the author were E. D.; which F. T. (or whoever it was that erased the name) forgot to erase."

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prisonment, his disappointment in getting his promist life-home at Longleat, and by a long course of steady work at antiquities, and family and general history. His marriage was miserable. He waited long for his appointment in the Heralds' Office, and only held it for his last 6 years, from 57 to 63. Many bitters were mixt with the sweets of his life. Amongst the latter, were his pursuit itself—no knagging wife, no worrying trustee, no faithless cousin, among his lov'd MSS.,—the society of friends of which he speaks so warmly in his *Epigrams*, of kindred spirits, in younger years with Egerton at Lincoln's Inn, in older days with Antiquaries at Garter Dethick's rooms; his love for CHAUCER; his plans for editing him, and writing besides, unlimited Lives of Treasurers, Chancellors, Archbishops, and all the occupants of all the great offices of State and Church—glorious vision[1]! Think too that he may have shaken hands with Shakspere, seen and heard him in his own plays; perhaps sighd at Spenser's death; and emptid a bottle with Marlowe. Ben Jonson he surely may have known. Bacon he may well have come across. Truly there were compensations for trouble in those Elizabethan days. At any rate, in his own learned circle, Francis Thynne was esteemd and respected. Somewhat punctilious and fussy he no doubt was, as fond of stuffing catalogues into histories as the suppos'd Perkins was of poking emendations into Shakspere; but careful he was, and honest; went to original authorities whenever he could, and gave his others when he couldn't; an intelligent critic too, and an industrious

[In the first page of the Treatise on the Philosopher's Stone is this passage:—"So sayeth the sonne of hamill, 'This art, sayeth he, is y^{t} wh. the glorious godd hath hydd fron menne lest the whole worlde sholde thereby be over throwen.'" (In the margin F. T. has written, "Chaucer, Stella completionis & Nortone.")]

9. A disputacione betweene Merlyne and Mariam of the marriage betwene Sylos and Anul, begins, "As the childe sat on his father's knee"; ends, "12 tyme of day."

Then follows this note:

"Copied out of the originall the 18 of October 1573 by me Francis Thynne whiche originall I had of Mr. Tho. Peter, written with the thande of the same Thomas Peter but I thinke this worke is imperfect because as yt seemeth theire lacketh some verses to furnishe the ryme but notwithstandinge I have followed the Copye. F. T."

[1] So Bacon's ideal (*New Atlantis*) was a land and buildings for unlimited experiments in natural science, with the company of grave and learned men. Note F. Thynne's "rare matters of antiquitie," (p. lxxiii, near foot), which he wanted "to deliuer to the worlde."

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searcher; he did his work with a will, and did it well. If he had small store of humour and wit, of fancy and imagination, or none at all; if he wrote bad verse, and only dull and useful prose, let us remember that his calling was that of Antiquary and Herald, that he had to deal with records and facts, that he helpt to lay the foundation of the study of Antiquities in England, and that he cleard the works and memory of CHAUCER from some of the rubbish that had been heapt about them.

As all the 500 copies of Dr Kingsley's edition of the *Animadversions* in 1865, for the Early English Text Society, had sold out, with the rest of the Society's issue for that year, I askt him to prepare a new edition of the tract for our *Reprints;* and he did begin it, in the interval of his professional travels all over the world—is he not the Doctor of 'The Earl and the Doctor' who helpt to blow those most enjoyable *South Sea Bubbles*, and has not he visited again and again every quarter of the habitable globe?—but the frequency of these excursions prevented his getting far with the new edition, and he therefore handed it over to me, with Francis Thynne's autograph MS. which Lord Ellesmere had kindly consented to let me have. I have therefore read the text twice through with the MS., put such notes to it as my limited leisure and knowledge allowd, got together, in these *Hindwords*, such details as I could, of old William Thynne's duties and food, &c., and of his son Francis's life and works. A new Index I have made too, and revis'd Dr Kingsley's list of Francis Thynne's Works[1]. I make no excuse for giving in full the details above as to William Thynne; for those who think them a bore, can skip them; and those who care for the old Chaucer-Editor as much as I do, will share the pleasure I had in going through his day's work and food with him. I hope it was from his edition that Shakspere read the *Troylus and Cryseyde*, and learnt to write *The Rape of Lucrece*, which echoes 'Chaucer' all through, as Beethoven's early work does Mozart.

[1] Had I but known earlier of the Messrs Coopers' Letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the notes on Francis Thynne would have been in better order, and much trouble would have been sav'd me; but Mr Tucker didn't tell me of the Letter till Sept. 4, 1875, when the Museum was clos'd; and on its re-opening on Sept. 8, I got only one afternoon there before coming to Egham on the 9th for a rest, and to better a badly-spraind ankle: a punishment for "making a beast of burden of myself" (Martin) in my old age, and towing sitters in a boat instead of sculling 'em.

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In the bright air on this chalk down, memories of all four Masters come to me. The wild thyme under foot gives out its sweet scent, the tender graceful harebell nods, the golden lady-slipper glows, the crimson ground-thistle gladdens in the sun, the fresh blue sky and fleecy clouds look down well pleasd[1]. Would that Chaucer and Shakspere were here!

Riddlesdown, below Croydon,
Sept. 5, 1874.

[1] And here I am, simmering in town, looking over Manuscripts and adding Francis-Thynne bits, this 16th of August, 1875! Why *will* men get up Early English Text and Chaucer Societies? What a bother they are! However, one has the Thames, and can get at the end of an oar again sometimes, to say nothing of eating one's dinner, and boiling one's kettle, on Kingston and Sunbury meadow banks.

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II *D.* LIST OF FRANCIS THYNNE'S WORKS.

I. *a. Printed separately.*

1. (1578, Jan. 8, at Longleat, Wilts.) The perfect / Ambassadovr / treating / of / The Antiquitie, Pri-/veledges, and behaviour of / Men belonging to that / Function. By F. T. Esquire. London / Printed for *John Colbeck* at the / *Phœnix* near the little North-/door of S. *Pauls* Church 1652. 12mo.

('This was first published in 1651 under the title "The Application of Certain Histories concerning Ambassadours and their Functions. By Francis Thynne Esquire. Taken out of Sir Robert Cotton's Library. London. Printed for J. Crook and S. Baker, and are to be sold at the sign of the Ship in Pauls Churchyard, 1651 Bodl. 8°. F. 146. Linc." This [1652 ed.] is nothing more than a new title to the same vol. with the date 1652.'—MS. note by Bliss. British Museum. 8005—a.)

2. 1599, Dec. 20. Animadversions on Speght's Chaucer. MS. in Bridgewater Library. (Printed by Todd, in his *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer*, pp. 1-92, 1810, and twice by E. E. Text Society, 1. ed. G. H. Kingsley, M.D., 1866; 2. ed. F. J. Furnivall, 1875.)

3. "Emblemes and Epigrams, from my howse in Clerkenwell Grene, the 20th of December, 1600." MS. in the Bridgewater Library (Lord Ellesmere's). E. E. T. Soc. for 1875, ed. F. J. Furnivall.

I. *b. Printed in other works:*

a. in *Holinshed's Chronicle: Additions* (1585-6) *in 2nd ed.* 1587.

4. The revision of, and additions to, Holinshed's *Historie of Scotland*, in the 2nd ed. 1587, vol. ii. from p. 204 col. 2, to p. 403.

(Thynne starts with an insertion of nearly a page, and makes others, though sometimes of only a few words, on many other pages. His long insertions are markt with a kind of star at the head, and a] at the tail; the short ones generally by [ ], and "Fr. Thin" in the margin. See p. 206, col. i, 207. i, 209. ii, 210. ii, 214. i. ii, 216. i, 218. i, 219. i, 220. ii, 222. i. ii, and so on, all through.)

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5. "The Annales of Scotland, in some part continued from the time in which Holinshed left, being the yeare of our Lord 1571, vntill the yeare of our redemption 1586, by Francis Boteuile, commonlie called Thin."—*Holinshed*, vol. ii, p. 405-464. (*See extracts above*, p. lxix-lxxiii.)
6. "A conuenient collection concerning the high constables of England, which office ceased and tooke end at the Duke of Buckingham aboue mentioned. [*In margin*] The collection of Fr. Thin in this yeare 1585." Vol. iii, 865, col. 2 (p. lxxv, above).
7. "The protectors of England collected out of the ancient and moderne chronicles, wherin is set downe the yeare of Christ, and of the king in which they executed that function." (vol. iii, p. 1069-1081, col. 1, l. 48), *calld in the margin*, "The collection of Francis Thin in the yeare 1585" (p. lxxv, above).
8. "The cardinals of England, collected by Francis Thin, in the yeare of our Lord, 1585." Vol. iii. p. 1165-8 (p. lxxv, above).
9. "The discourse and catalog of all the dukes of England, by creation or descent, since the time of the conquest. [*In margin*] The collection of Francis Boteuile, *aliâs* Thin, in the yeare of Christ 1585." iii. 1230-8 (p. lxxvi, above).
10. "A treatise of the treasurors of England, set downe out of ancient histories and records, as they succeeded in order of time and in the reigne of the kings. [*In margin*] Collected by *Francis Thin* in the yeare of Christ 1585." Vol iii. p. 1238, col. 1 (p. lxxvii, above.)
11. "The chancellors of England, collected out of sundrie ancient histories. [*In margin*] The collection of *Francis Thin.*" Vol. iii. p. 1272, col. 1 (p. lxxix, above.)

(*Castrations of Hollinshed's Chronicles* [iii. 1419-1537, *ed.* 1587] *reprinted in folio in* 1728 (*for insertion in the original ed.*), *and in the quarto reprint of* 1807-8.[1])

12. "A discourse of the earles of Leicester by succession," calld in

[1] The "Advertisement" to the 4to edition of Holinshed (1807-8) says,—"The original Edition of the Chronicles of Holinshed, it is well known, was published by their author in a mutilated state. A number of pages, which had obviously been printed with the rest of the work, were found to be omitted, except in a few copies obtained by some favoured persons. In the present edition these castrations are faithfully restored."

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the margin "The collection of the earles of Leicester, by Fr. Thin 1585." (vol. iii. p. 1419-24; p. lxxxi, above.)

13. The liues of the archbishops of *Canturburie*, written by Francis Thin, in the yere of our redemption 1586." (p. 1435-1499, *Hol.* iii.; p. lxxxii, above.)

14. "A treatise of the lord Cobhams, with the lord wardens of the cinque ports: gathered (as well out of ancient records and monuments, as out of the histories of England) by Francis Boteuile, commonlie surnamed Thin, in the yeare of our redemption, 1586." (p. 1499-1515, *Hol.* iii.; p. lxxxv, above.)

(This is the "Lives of the Lords Cobham, of Cobham, Rundalle, and Starborough," British Mus. Add. 12,514. f. 56. The MS. is incomplete, and ends in l. 9, col. 1, p. 1515 of *Holinshed* iii.)

15. "The catalog of the lord wardens of the cinque ports, and constables of Douer castle, aswell in the time of King Edward, surnamed the Confessor, as since the reigne of the Conqueror, collected by Francis Thin, in the yeare of Christ one thousand, five hundred, fourescore and six." (vol. iii. p. 1516-1534, col. 2.)

Hearne (*Cur. Disc.* p. iv) says the Holinshed castrations extend to p. 1575. But Reginald Scot begins where Thynne leaves off, on p. 1534. (Thynne's MS. is said to have been in the library of More, Bishop of Ely. A few leaves of his expanded treatise on the Wardens and Constables of Dover Castle are now leaves 48-55 of the British Museum Addit. MS. 12,514.)

β. In Hearne's *Collection of Curious Discourses*, 1720; 2nd ed. 1771, 1775 (which is 1771 with a fresh title).

16. A Discourse of the Dutye and Office of a Heraulde of Armes, written March 3, 1605-6. (Four MSS. known. I. Thynne's autograph copy, Cotton, Titus C 1, leaves 454-463. It's dated from 'Clerkenwell Greene the 3 of marche 1605 veteri stilo' [=1606]. II. Ashmole, 835, p. 327-348; III. Ashm. 840, art. 10, p. 79; (printed in Hearne's *Collection of Curious Discourses*, art. xlvii. p. 230—268, ed. 1720; No. XLVI. p. 139—162, vol. i, ed. 1775, 8vo: see No. 29 below;) IV. Harl. MS. 4176, leaf 130, back, to 158. ? An 18th-century copy of the printed Herald essay.)

17. Of Sterling money. Art. VI. p. 20-3, Hearne's *Cur. Disc.* 1720.

18. Of what Antiquity Shires were in England. Art. IX, p. 33-42, *ib.*

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19. Of the Antiquity and Etymologie of Termes and Times for administration of Justice in England. Art. XIV, p. 54-61, *ib.*

20. Of the Antiquity of the Houses of Law. Art. XXVI, p. 108-126, *ib.*

21. (1600, Nov. 3.) [1]Of the Antiquity of Epitaphs in England. Art. LXXVI, p. 251-6, vol. i, Hearne's *Cur. Disc.* ed. 1771.

22. [2]On the Antiquity, Authority and Succession of the High Steward of England.[3] Art. V, p. 24-30, vol. ii, ed. 1771.

23. [2]The Antiquity and Office of the Earl Marshall of England. Art. XXIII, p. 113-116, vol. ii, ed. 1771. Evidently one of Thynne's speeches before the Antiquaries. It begins: "I know that in this learned assembly, there can nothing be ouerpassed . . . but that will be deliuered by some one, and therefore I might be silent: but synce by order I must say something, although for *aliquid, nihil est*, I will first speake of the verge, and then of some few Tower records . . . . (*ends*) and that in some part of his office our mareschall is the same officer, and hath the same jurisdiction in England, that *rex ribaldorum*, as Tillet termeth him, or 'king of harlots,' as Chaucer in the romance of the Rose entituled him, hath in the court of France." (See *Animadversions*, p. 72-3.)

γ. In Sir R. C. Hoare's *Modern Wiltshire*, Heytesbury Hundred, p. 62; and Beriah Botfield's *Stemmata Botevilliana*, 2nd ed. 1858, Appendix, p. cxxxvi.

24. A short Abstract of the Family of Thynne, alias Botevill (with a continuation by another hand).

δ. In Speght's *Chaucer* (and this volume, p. cvi).
Short Poem 'Vpon the Picture of Chaucer.'

ε. *In the present Volume*, pages lii, liv, xci, xcvi, and Appendix IV, p. 103.

25. Four Letters to Lord Burghley: two dated respectively 13 and 14 March, 1575-6, asking to be releast from the debtors' prison,

[1] Not in ed. of 1720. This is a speech too, before the Antiquaries; "to deliver all such epitaphs as I have registred, either from histories, the books of religious houses, monuments remaining in churches, or such like, would be too tedious to this learned audience." p. 251.

[2] Not in ed. of 1720.

[3] This is no doubt a speech before the Antiquaries too, as at the end Thynne submits the question "to your judgments."

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The White Lion; the third, in the Record Office, dated Nov. 15, 1588, regretting that his application for a post in the Heralds' Office was too late; the fourth, dated Dec. 2, 1593, again asking for an appointment in the Heralds' Office. Originals of 1, 2, 4 in Lansdowne MS. 75, Articles 57, 58, 76.

26. "A dyscourse uppon ye creste of the Lorde Burghley." Ashmole MS. 766, leaves 5*b*—14. (Appendix IV, p. 103, below.)

II. *Manuscript Poems, Treatises,* &c. (See Nos. 2, 3, 14, 15, 16, above.)

27. (1573 A.D.) 1st MS. in Ashmole 766, in verse. 1. "The contents of this booke.

"Fyrste an epistle dedicatorye of the booke of Armorye of Claudius Paradyne. [f. 2-5.]

(2. No. 26, above.)

"Another discourse uppon the Philosophers Armes." By FRANCIS THYNNE, 15-88.

On the back of the title are printed the armorial bearings of Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley [as Ld. Chancellor Egerton's on the back of the *Animadversions* title]. The first article is dated from "Barmondsey streathe the 2 of Auguste 1573": the second consists of 70 six-lined stanzas, and has the crest painted at the beginning; the third is faced by the "Philosophorum insignia" (painted on f. 14*b*) and a Latin epigram, and is written in Alexandrine couplets. Each is subscribed with the curious autograph of FRANCIS THYNN. Two pages follow (88*b*—89) containing "the table of the auctors recyted in this discourse, after the order of the alphabett;" and three others which are blank. In Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (quarto edition, II. 109), this book is wrongly noticed as contained in No. 1374.—*Black's Catalogue,* col. 383. (See Mr G. Parker's extracts from the MS., in 'Notes' below.)

28. "Folio paper 16th century. A volume of transcripts by Frances Thynne, of Alchymical treatises." Hist. MSS. Commission, Third[1] Report, p. 186 (p. cxiv, above).

29. Francis Thynne, to the Lord Burghley; with a long dissertation of his on the subject *Homo Animal Sociale,* from 'Longleate

[1] There is nothing in the 1st, 2nd, or 4th Reports as to either Francis or William Thynne.

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the 20 of October, 1578.' Lansdowne 27, art. 36, 6 folio leaves, 70-5. (p. lviii, above.)

30. "Matter [of record] concerning Heralds, and Tryall of Armes, and [of the] Court Military, [collected] by Francis Thinne, Lancaster." MS. Ashmole, 835, p. 355-376.

"This tract consists of the following eleven documents [describd in Black's *Catalogue of the Ashmole MSS.*, but not here,] transcribed from the rolls, with marginal notes: it is *not* printed among the 'Curious Discourses' as is the foregoing tract [Dutye and Office of an Heraulde, No. 16, above.] to which it seems to belong. They are noticed in the quarto edition of Wood's *Athenæ*, II. 108-9."—Black, col. 520. An 18th-century copy is in Harl. MS. 4176, leaves 170-187.

31. "A Discourse of Arms," dated "Clerkenwell Grene, 5th of Jan., 1593-4." MS. was in the College of Arms. (p. xcvii, above.)

32. "The Names and Armes of the Chauncellors of England, collected into one Catalogue." MS. in the Bridgewater Library. (p. xcviii, above.)

33. The Plea betweene the Advocate and the Ant'-advocate concerning the Bathe and Bacheler Knights. A. D. 1605. Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 12,530. (For extracts and other MSS.[1] see p. cx-cxiii, above.)

34. Mr Thynne on the antiquity of the name of Barons in England, and on the form and antiquity of tenures. Lansdowne MS. 254, f. 38. (p. xciii, above.)

35. On the antiquity of Viscounts, and on sealinge[2] with arms. Ib. f. 45. (p. xciv, above.)

36. 2 Letters to the first Sir John Thynne (noted, p. lii, lviii, above); 3 Letters to the second Sir John Thynne (p. lxiv: 2, p. ci); 1 Letter to Sir Thomas Thynne (p. cxiv); Petition to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere (see p. lviii).

[1] *Hearne's Diary*, vol. cvii. p. 113. "Apr. 28, 1725. I find by the News of Yesterday, that Mr. Anstis is engag'd in a Work relating to the Order of the Knights of the Bath. There is a Folio MS. now in the Hands of Mr. Robert Webb of the ChurchYard at Wotton-under-edge in Glosterahire, all written upon this very subject, by one Thynne, a King at Arms. I believe it came out of the Berkly Family;" (&c.)

[2] Printed 'fealty' in the Lansdowne Catalogue.

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III. *Manuscript Note-Books of Extracts on English History, Genealogy, Heraldry (with sketches), &c.*

37. "Collections of Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald, 1564-1606." Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 11,388. (See p. xlix, ci, above.)

(This volume contains much curious matter collected and illustrated by Thynne, part of it bearing on the philosopher's stone. One paper is an illustrated copy of a ryming Latin poem, "De Phenice sive de Lapide Philosophico," referred to in the tract below, p. 36.) The largest treatise is "The kynges booke of all the lordes, knightes, esquiers, and gentlemen of this Realme of England, 1601" (leaves 104-165).

38. Collections by Thynne on the Lords Marshal of England, "Oute of the booke entituled 'Domus Regni Angliæ,' conteyning the orders of the Kinges house, written in latine and English, being made in the tyme of king Edward the 4th, dated from Clerkenwell greene the one & twentith of Marche 1601." MS. Cotton, Julius C. VIII. f. 89-93. 5 leaves. (p. civ, above.)

39. Three Collections for the "First Part of the Commentaries of Britain," 1 and 2 describd in the *Cotton Catalogue*, p. 613, as "Commentarii de historia et rebus Britannicis, collecti per Franciscum Thynne; in quibus multa quoque continentur de familiis nobilium, et presertim de comitibus Huntingdoniæ et Lincolniæ, et ducibus Norfolciæ: tomi duo." MS. Cotton, Faustina E. VIII. and IX., and MS. in the Bridgewater Library (see p. lxi-lxiv, above).

40. Several Collections of Antiquities: the greater part[1] of MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, C. 3. Notes concerning Arms, monumental Antiquities, several abbeys and churches, with extracts from Leland, Chronicles, &c., and notes concerning several counties. See the 36 articles described in the Cotton Catalogue, p. 579-80.

41. Missellanies of the Treasury. (Was in John Anstis's possession. See p. ci, above.)

42. "The names and Armes of the Earles Marshall of England, collected by Francis Thynn in the yeare of our redemption

[1] Leaves 291, 319 are in Stowe's hand. Thynne writes leaves 1-217, 266-290, 341-397.

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1601, etc." dedicated to Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham.[1] MS. Ashmole 856, pp. 1, 3-13. *Wood's Athenæ*, II. 109. Black, p. 626.

43. Epitaphia. Sive monumenta Sepulchrorum tam Anglice Latine quam Gallice conscripta: ab illo in suo Angliæ peregrinatione collecta, & variorum librorum lectione. Item de Episcopis

[1] I suppose the original copy is in the *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, Vol. 283 *a*, No. 64.

"The names and armes of the Earles Marshalls of England, Collected by Francis Thynn in the yeare of our redemption 1601."

It is a paper of 14 leaves, of which eight are the Discourse, written in a fair hand; four other leaves are devoted to the names and emblazonment of arms, and two are blank. The Discourse is addresst to Charles Howard, Earle of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, on the "new Commission directed" to him, the Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Worcester. It treats of the etymology of the word Marshall, of the office among foreign nations, and something of its history in England. The following are the opening and ending paragraphs, the last being signd by F. Thynne's own hand:

"I make no question, Right honourable and thrice Renowned Erle, but that manye (who owe both love and dutye to your good *Lordshipp*) have after this new Commission directed to the lorde Threasurer, to your *Lordship*, and to the Erle of Worcester, presented vnto you such rare Antiquityes concerning your honorable Office, as may both manyfest their loveing dutie, and give light to things which have long lyen hidden: for which cause, I might iustly staie my Penn from presumyng to adventure my dutye towards your *Lordshipp* after the same manner, (myself being of others most inexpert in those things, as one whoe hath alwaies lived in silence, although a well willer to Antiquityes,) yf your noble birth, honourable disposition, and rare Curtesy, did not adde wings to my desire, which of long tyme wished to have some occasion mynistred, wherein I might manifest my dutiefull Affection to your *Lordshipp*. Wherefore, as one amongst the rest, willing to present vnto *your Lordshipp* some outward pledge of inward duty; I offer vnto your *Lordshipp* these few eares of knowledge which I have gleaned out of the leavings of auntient historyes and Records."

"[*ends*] . . . . . the latter end of this booke doth sett downe a Catalogue of all the Erles Marshalls;* and I meane hereafter to make a more liberall discourse of them in the fore-touched Booke of their lives, to be penned at large, with all suche worthy actions as they haue performed.

"Thus, my good lord, in all dutye humblie committing mee and my labours to your Lordshipps favourable Countenance and furtherance of my sute, and Commending your *Lordshipp* to the proteccion of the Almighty, who send to your Lordshipp further increase of following honor, and to mee the comforte of your Lordshipps vndeserved Curteaye, which encourageth mee thus boldlye to offer to *your* honourable acceptance this slender collection, I dutyfully take my leave. Clerkenwell Grene, the one and twentyth of Marche, 1601.

Your lordshipps wholye in all dutye to dispose,
Francis Thynne."

* This Catalogue of arms is brought down to those of the Earl of Essex, who died in 1601.

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Eboracensis. MS. Sloane, 3836. Ayscough's Catalogue 276. (p. xciii, above.)

44. Various heraldical notes, Latin, and extracts from the Patent Rolls, 12 H. 3, memb. 1-20, in Thynne's handwriting (?). Lansdowne MS. 255, leaves 121-147, new nos.

45. Collections, (in Latin) as to places, persons, and families, entitled 1. "Rapsodies," and 2. "Offices." Lansd. 255, fols. 121 to 147.

46. Collection of Pedigrees, written A.D. 1602-1604. Harl. MS. 774. (p. cviii, above.)

47. Collections in the Cotton MS. Vitellius E. V. Art. 10, leaves 123-7.

'Nomina et res gestæ Episcoporum Sommersetensium, à tempore Danielis Episcopi, Anno Domini 704, ad tempora Henrici 4ti.' (Lists of the Bishops of Congresberye, of Bath and Wells, with copies of Saxon Charters, Notes, &c.) Signd, "Francis Thynne, 29 Julij Anno domini 1592, in Domo Willielmi Lambard armigeri, apud hallinge in Kantia."

Art. 11. 'Excerpta ex historia Thomæ Moore, de tempore Edwardi 2di:' ("Notes taken out [of the historye of][1] Sir Thomas delamoore who wrought his historye in frenche, and being turned into latyne by one who lyved in his tyme. taken oute of a copye written by lawrence nowell." A fragment of the history of Edward II.) leaves 127 back—128 back.

Art. 12. Appendix historiæ [1][Hi]berniæ ab An. Domini .1369. ad An. 1433. leaves 128 back—131 back.

Art. 13. Compendium Cronicæ Glasconiensis Willelmi Malmesburiensis per Laurentium Nowell. leaves 131 bk—147. Signed, "Francis Thynne 7 octobris Anno domini 1592 in Domo Willielmi Lambard armigeri apud Hallinge in Kantia."

("A fragment of the draught of the will of Mr Thynne, Lancaster herald, apparently in his own handwriting;" Lansdowne Catalogue—Lansd. MS. 255, f. 259, is in fact a large portion of the Will of Sir John Thynne, the builder of Longleat, who died in 1580. The original is in the Court of Probate, Doctors' Commons.)

[1] Margin here imperfect, this being one of the Cotton Manuscripts injurd by fire.

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II E. *Mr J. Payne Collier, and his attributing four spurious Books to Francis Thynne.*

After Mr Collier's practical jokes—to call them by no harsher name—on Shakspere, one is not surprised to find him practising on Francis Thynne, and indulging in the pleasantry of attributing to our author 1. *The Debate between Pride and Lowliness*[1]; 2. *A Pleasaunt Dialogue or Disputation betweene the Cap and the Head*, 1564; 3. *Newes from the North*, otherwise called *The Conference between Simon Certain and Pierce Plowman*, 1579; and 4. *The Case is altered*, 1604. To any one who knows Francis Thynne's style and character, this putting-on him of four different tracts, evidently by 3 or 4 different men, all differing in style and temper from him and from one another, is a real joke. The notion that the critic of Speght's *Chaucer*, who resented that editor's poaching on his Chaucer manor, would sit still and see Greene clear-out his park of the *Debate*, and, under his eyes, set his choice deer in the said Greene's meadow of the *Quip*,[2] labelld 'Greene's stags,' is delightful. Why, Thynne would have flayd him for it, and have left his skin pepperd and salted, to posterity.[3] Mr Collier seems to have argued, "Here are two books by F. T., *argal* they 're by Francis Thynne. Here's another by T. F., *argal* that's by Francis Thynne too.[4] And here's a fourth anonym-

[1] Seeing that Mr Collier had made a good deal of the signature "Fr. Th." on the title-page of Lord Ellesmere's copy of *The Debate* (*Introduction*, p. viii), I wrote at once to Dr Kingsley for an appointment to examine the signature: one knows only too well what such things are likely to be. Next day I came on the following note on *The Debate*, in Mr Hazlitt's *Hand-book*:—

"Attributed to Thynne by Mr Collier on the strength of the initials F. T. in print on the title, and *F. Th.* in MS. there. *But the latter appears to be in a modern hand, attempting an imitation of old writing.*" Of course.

I have since lookt at this 'F. Th.' and compar'd it with Francis Thynne's other signatures at Bridgewater House and in the British Museum, and I do not doubt that it is a modern forgery. The hesitating and somewhat-waving downstroke of the *F*, the top-curl not being made with a separate line, as Thynne's are; the touches in the beak of the *T* and at the foot of the *h*, the artificially pale ink, and the general look of the letters, mark them as a modern imitation of Thynne's hand. The imitator was no doubt the forger of the other notorious Bridgewater-Library documents. In no instance that I have seen, has Francis Thynne signd 'F. Th.' only.

[2] The 'Quip for an Upstart Courtier' came out in 1592, when Thynne must have been settld in London.

[3] This is not a parallel case to the Holinshed castrations, where pride or prudence would have kept Thynne silent.

[4] "'Newes from the North . .' we may assign to Thynn without any hesitation, not merely on account of the character of the work [which is as unlike any of Thynne's genuine work as chalk is to cheese], *but because his initials, reversed, are upon the title-page.*"—Introduction to *The Debate between Pride and Lowliness*, p. xvi, old Shakespeare Soc. 1841.

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ous book, *argal* that's Francis Thynne's as well." Let any one with a head read even only the bits of Thynne in this little volume, and then turn to *The Pride-and-Lowliness Debate;* the *Cap-and-Head Disputation* (1564; at Lambeth); the *Newes from the North*, 1579 (Bodleian; 1585, Mr H. Huth, Lord Ellesmere, Brit. Mus.); *The Case is altered*, 1604 (in Brit. Mus.); and see whether he can honestly say any one of the four is like Thynne's work. (The reader will also remember that Thynne's own words as to his "*sudden leaping into the printers shop, especiallie at first*," in 1586 (p. lxx, above), leaves no doubt as to the spuriousness of the first three of these four books.) Here is a little bit from each book, by way of sample.

1. *The Debate*, that "admirable poem," as Mr Collier calls it (p. xvi), by "an atturney" (p. 69)—who we are to believe is Francis Thynne at 23, associating with the future Lord Chancellor Egerton and others at Lincoln's Inn—and who says (p. 70):—

Therefore beseech I such as be learned,
Into whose hands this work may chance to come,
Barresters, or how so ye be termed,
To judgen it after your wisdome.

Besides all this, least any man misjudge
Of these my woordes, or hold me parciall,
As bearyng to the buttockes any grudge,
More then unto the other members all,

Because my matter hath ben of a breche,
Which is their habit and their couerture,
To thinke none ill therein I them beseeche,
Or that their losse I have ment to procure.

As that they might not weare, as may the rest,
I meane, the members of more worthines;
For sure I hold they ought to weare the best,
And if ye read S. Paule, he saith no lesse.

Wherfore to buttockes, evil I ne ment,
More then unto the belly or the backe,
Or else the head concerning ornament,
For nature hath more furnished their lack.

They may with lesse shame be discovered
And naked, then the lower parts may be;
Though yet unseemely, saving for the head
Of man; forwhy, of God th' image is hee;

And is the ground of reason, and the roote,
The seate of understanding, and of wit;
Guide of the rest, yea, both of hand and foote,
And royall as a king, on high doth sit.

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And therefore if the buttockes do exceede,
Or be to monstrous in that they weare,
The head ought to be blamed for the deede,
For reason ought to have his dwelling there,

Not in the buttockes, who know nothing lesse
Then what is seemely for them to put on,
And are appointed other busynesse . . .

p. 81. THE BOOKE TO THE READER.

If, gentle Reader, thou have found in me
Thing which thy stomake hardly can digest,
Here is discribed an Epythyme:
Warme it, and lappe it close vnto thy brest.

It was compounded with great diligence,
Of symples by an Apothecary,
Both trustie and skilful in that science,
And from these iiii. verses doth not vary.

THE EPYTHYME.

Who purposeth to liven vertuouse
In favour of our God, let him take keepe,
That pride none office beare within his house,
For where he doth, vertue is layde to sleepe.

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2. *The Cap-and-Head Disputation*, 1564[1]:—

(*Lambeth Library*, 28. 8. 23, *the 5th tract in the vol.*)

A Dialogue betwene the Cap and the Head.

The Cap.

O How vndiscretely doth Fortune deale wyth many in this world! cursed be the tyme that euer I was appointed to couer thee.

The Head.

What the Diuel aylest thou? thou doest nothing nowe a dayes but murmure and grudge.

The Cap.

I woulde the Wolle that I was made of, and the Sheepe that

[1] A Pleasaunt / Dialogue or disputa/tion betweene the Cap, / and the Head. / Imprinted at Lon/don by Henry Denham, / for Lucas Harrison, dvvelling in / Paules Churchyarde at the / signe of the Crane /. Anno 1564 Nouembris. 11. / (*Colophon*) Imprinted at London in Whitecrosse streate by Henry Denham, for Lucas Harrison, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the Signe of the Crane. Anno domini. 1564. Nouembris 11. 8vo. A B C in eights. Colophon only on C 7, C 8 blank. The Press mark is 28. 8. 23 (art. 5). (Proof of extract not read with original.)

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bare it, had bene deuoured with Dogges, or that it had bene burned in the filthy fingers of the ilfauored olde queane that spunne it.

The Head.

Why, what meanest thou by thys cursing? I neuer did thee any harme.

The Cap.

No diddest? thy euill entreating of mee is the whole cause of my griefe, thou arte the worker of my wrong, and the onely occasion of my complaint.

The Head.

I knowe no cause why thou shouldest be greued with me; for I payde sweetely for thee, & thou knowest *that* euery man weareth not so fine a Cap as I doe weare; & at night, when I go to bedde, I brushe thee, I lay the[e] on a faire Carpet, & couer thee with a cleane Handkercher, where thou restest quietly all the night and a good part of the daye. in the morning when I go abrode, I sprinkle thee with Rose water, and strawe thee with Damaske pouder, and then set thee on the hyghest and moste honorable place that I have. What wouldest thou haue more?

The Cap.

I had rather thou shouldest place mee in the lowest and filthiest place: for I had rather that thou madest mee a patche in thy Breeches, so that I might liue in peace and quietnesse without reproche, and bestowe thy rose water and damaske pouder vpon thy Nice picke me dainties, for I passe not for it .... but one while thou wearest mee aloft, another while ouer thine eyes; one while on this fashion, and an other while on that fashion, without anye discretion: moued, put of, put on again, I assure thee I esteme the patche in the breeches to be happyer than I... Who is able to beare such iniurye at thy hand? that art neuer contented to weare me after one fashion: but one while thou wearest me lyke a Garland; by and by like a Steple; an other while lyke a Barbers Basone; anone after lyke a Bolle whelmed vp side downe; sometime lyke a Royster, sometime like a Souldiour, and sometime lyke an Antique; sometime plited, & anone after unplyted; and not being contented with that, thou bindest mee with gaarishe bandes; one while of one colour, and an other while of an other, and sometime with many colours at once, as if I were mad: how is it possible to suffer so many chaunges? ... it seemeth that thou goest about to shame mee vtterly; for thou art not contented *with* making mee to weare Read, Yellowe, Greene, and Blew laces, but besides that, thou encombrest mee wyth Brouches, Valentines, Rings, Kayes, Purses, Gloues, yea, fingers of gloues! thou wrappest me in Chaines, thou settest me with Buttons and Aglets, thou lardest me wyth rybans and bandes, thou cuttest me, borest me, and slashest me, both aboue and beneth, without any compassion or pitie, and so by this disfigure mee, em-

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pairing my dignity, and yet the more to thy shame. . . .[1] And as for the feathers which thou prickest and stickest in me, one while Ostrige, another while Cranes, Parrats, Bittors, cockes and Capons feathers, signify nothing else but the lightnesse of thy brayne; for we haue a common prouerbe, "Thou art as light as a Feather". . . . thy toyishe deuises in thy Brouches, & thine vnconstant wearing of Feathers, do shew the wauering of thy foolish brayne. . . But to come againe to our matter. Al this grieueth me not so much as other intollerable iniuries that thou dost me, which maketh me many times wish my self an ouen sweper. For when thou art drunk, and that the superfluity of thy bybbed Wine distylleth forth in sower sweatye droppes, then throwest thou me away, thou treadest on mee, and so leauest me in daunger of Dogs and Cattes, which many tymes both pysse and shyte on me. I woulde I were then whelmed on thy drowsye drunken noll!

To attribute writing like this, to Francis Thynne at nineteen, in the year of his marriage (p. xlviii), is mere harumscarumness or perverseness.

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3. T. F.'s *Newes from the North*, 1579, ed. 1585, Brit. Mus.

Newes from the North./ Otherwise / called the Conference between / Simon Certain and Pierce / Plowman./ Faithfully collected and gathered / by T. F. Student[2] / Aut bibe aut abi. / Printed at London / at the long Shop, adioyning vnto / Saint Mildreds Church in the / Pultrie, by Edward / Allde, 1585. 4to. A to L in fours.

¶ To the Godly and Gentle Reader.

THou hast heer, Godly and gentle Reader, the Conference between *Sim Certain* and *Pierce Plowman*, two great Clarkes,

[1] This is preceded by the following amusing derivation of *gallant*: "First, *gallantnesse* is deriued of this word *Gall*, which is a superfluity that groweth on the oke tree, vnprofitable, wythout seede, light; and so rounde that it can scarce lye still on *the* playne ground. Wherof some nations haue a prouerb: 'thou art as fickle as a *Gall*.' And thou shalt vndestande, that of *Gall*, commeth this word *Galling*, which signifieth a fretting and wearing awaye of hymselfe, or a hurting and offending of other. And so consequently they are called *Gallant*, bicause eyther they consume and spende away that which their frends hath left them, in their vain follye and garishnesse, and so *gal* them selues: or (if they haue not of their owne to *gall*) eyther *gall* the Marchaunt in his boke, or else, by shamefull shifting, *gall* so many to maintain their *Gallantnesse*, till they bring themselues at the length to the *gallowes*, which we see commonly to be most furnished with *gallants*: god giue them better grace!" (The italics are mine. See W. de Worde's 'Treatyse of this Galaunt' in my *Ballads from MSS.* i. Ballad Soc.)

[2] Francis Thynne was 34 in 1579, and living with Sir John Thynne at Longleat, p. lviii, lix, lxi.

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as thou maist vnderstand by their Discourse, which I haue gathered and reported as faithfully and as truely as my simple memory could retaine the same, and that with some trauaile which I accounted my dutie. First vnto them and others by them heerin mentioned. And secondly vnto all and euery good man and woman whose mindes and harts God may sturre vp vnto Godlynes and Vertue by their good ensample. Namely[1] all such as are Fathers and Maisters of housholdes; but cheefly and principally of common Innes and Tauerns, whose good or euill example spreadeth far and wide; and I feare in these our daies, rather in corruption of life and manners, then in edifiyng or increase of Vertue and Godlynes, according to the saying of *Jesus* of *Sirach*, that 'it is as hard for a Merchant to be no lyar, as for a Tauerner or Inholder to be no drunkerd'; which thing, although hee hath said to be very hard—yet (for the Inholder) that his rule admitteth exception, thou maist heer finde with out traueling to *Rippon* in Yorkshire to learne; and so for a grote or sixpence thou maist know *that* which cost mee aboue fiue markes to learne, besides my trauail and time spent, which yet if it please thee to accept, I shal account right wel bestowed, which God graunt, and that in all thy Journeis thy head ake not before thou alight in such an Hostry

Farwel.

✠

Aut bibe aut abi.

How the Author comming homeward out of Scotland through Yorkshire, chaunced to lodge in Rippon, At what signe, the name of the Hoste, the order and maner of the House and famelye, And his entertainment there.

Chap 1.

In my last return from Edenborough in Scotland, comming homeward through Yorkshire: I traueled somewhat out of the common high London way, of purpose to see the Cuntrie. And one day among others, toward euen I chaunced to come to a little through fare Towne called Rippon, where at the very entring into the Town, I met a poore olde Woman, of whom I asked if there were any good lodging in the town. She answered mee that there was good lodging at the signe of the Greek Omega. "The Greek Omega (quoth I) what doo you meane by that?" "Nothing," said she, "but that there is good lodging and honest entertainment, which (I suppose) is all that you require." Then I asked her what was the good mans

[1] especially

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name of this house. "His name (quoth she) is Simon Certain; we call him commonly Sim Certain." "Sim Certain (quoth I), surely these are very strange names," and so bidding her farewell, I departed into the towne warde, much more desirous to be come to my lodging, for the strangenes of the names, as well of the Signe, as also of the Good man of the House. By that time I had entred a little way into the Town, I was ware of a very faire Greek Omega hanging forth as a common signe, euen as the olde woman had tolde me before. And thether I went; and entring into the house, I found in the Hall the Good man, his two Sonnes, his Chamberlain and his Hostler singing the C.iiij Psalme of Dauid very distinctly and orderly. The Goodwife with her two Daughters sat spinning at their Wheeles a little distaunce from them. All which things when I beheld, I thought with my selfe that these things were yet more strange to beholde, then were either the Signe or els the good mans name to heare, So I bad them God speed. The Hoste very curteously arose, and bad me welcome; so did the wife also, and asked mee whether I meant to tary all night. I answered yea. Then he asked mee if I would see my Chamber. "No, gentle Hoste (quoth I), I will not hinder so much your good exercise, for I am sure I cannot be lodged amisse in this house." "Not so, sir (quoth he), but ye shall haue the best that we haue, and welcome." I gaue him harty thanks. Then hee enquired of mee, of whence I was, where I had been, and whether I was bound. I tolde him I was a Southern man borne and dwelling, and that I had been at Edenborough in Scotland, and was thus farre in my way homeward. "In good time, sir (quoth hee), and yee are hartely welcome into this part of Yorkshire." "I thank you, gentle Hoste" (quoth I).

The comming thether of Pierce Plowman, beeing newly come from London. His request to the Hoste to lend him fiue pound vpon a paune. The refusall of the Hoste, the question thereupon moued, beeing the matter of the conference.

Chap 2.

By that time we had talked scant half an houre, there came in a Cuntrie man, a Neighboure, a iolly olde fatherly man, bringing vnder his arme a fardell of Bookes, as many as hee might well holde vnderneath one of his armes; he gaue vs the time of the day. "What! neighbour Pierce" (quoth our Hoste); "welcome from London! Sir, (quoth he to me), this Neighboure of mine is lately come from where you are going, God willing." "Truely (qooth I) and this is happily met by grace of God, and as I verily suppose neere in the mid way betweene Edenborough and London." With that, "Neighbour Simon," quoth this Pierce Plowman, (for that was his name) "I am come to desire your help." "What is the matter, neighbour Pierce"

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(quoth our Hoste). "Neighbour (quoth hee) to lend mee fiue pound for half a yeer; for truely (quoth hee) I haue spent all my mony at London, and haue not left myself so much as to buy my seed Wheat, wherwith to sowe my land this season." "No haue! neighbour Pierce?" (quoth hee) "that was very ill handled; ye shoould alwaies so vse your matters that *the* main stock be saued whole." "Fye, neighbour Simon! quoth he, speak no more of that, for the reuerence of God, for truely I am ashamed of myself; but what remedy now saue patience, and to learne to be wiser heerafter?" "What meanes all these paper Books" (quoth our Hoste). "Mary, neighbour, quothe Pierce, they shalbe suretie vnto you for the repaiment of your fiue pound." With that they were vnbound; and beeing opened and looked vpon, they were Billes, Answers, Replications, Reio[i]nders, Coppies of Depositions, and such like; Some out of one Court, some out of another. When our Hoste had seen them all: "why, Neighbour (quoth hee), doo you think to meet with any man that is so mad to lend v. pence vpon such trash?" "Trash! Neighbour, quoth Pierce, they stand me in aboue fiftie pound." "Perauenture so, quoth our Hoste, but that prooueth not that they are worth fiftie points, sauing vnto him that were as mad to buy them of you, as you bought them at their hands that solde them vnto you. But or you meet with any such chapman, I beeleue you will be weary of keeping them." With that, Pierce began to be half offended. "Neighbour Pierce," quoth our Hoste, "fiue pound is a small matter between us twain, you shall haue it vpon your word. But as for your Books: heer dwelleth a Lady not far hence, carie them to her, for they are far fet and deer bought, and such things, men say, are good for Ladies."

* * * * * * *

F. iij. Cap. 13. . . "Doo you call this a mending, Neighbour *Simon?*" quoth Pierce. "In very deed," quoth he, "I must needs confesse, that these great and excessiue Charges and large Expences haue rebuked me, haue chasticed and amended me; but to say that I think or iudge it thank woorthy vnto them that haue receiued my money: I say 'the Deuil kisse his arse that so amendeth me or any frẽend of mine;' for verily such amending, in my iudgment, deserueth asmuch and the very like thanks, as did the Wife who gaue her husband two strong poisons, meaning to spẽed him in dẽed, but the poysons bẽeing of contrary natures, wrought one vpon an other, and destroyed either others force, wherby the man bẽeing hardly handled for a season, yet bẽeing driuen into a lask by their extremitie, auoyded them bothe, and with them much corruption, so that where before he was a very corrupt body, he was by their clensings the better xx. yẽers after. Thus she did him good by accident, but far from her intent or purpose, and vtterly against her will. . . . .

Cap. 14. . . . For I haue partely shewed you hẽer what leaue

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and libertie the common people, namely[1] youth, haue to follow their own lust and desire in all wantonnes and dessolution of life. For further proof wherof, I call to witnesse the Theaters, Curtines,[2] Heauing houses, Rifling boothes, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely[1] the Sabaoth daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vtter distruction of youth. All which (I say) are either the causes or the effects of these great gaines and reuenues, or els both causes and effects interchaungeably. For I dare vndertake, that if either these gains and profits were publique, as you pretend, or els if there were as great gain and proffit to the Maiestrates and Officers, in the godly liues and honest conuersation of the common people, as there is in the contrary, these harbours of vngodlines & misnurture would haue lesse fauour and maintenaunce then they haue, and godlines Sobrietie and modestie of liues & maners, would be in greater estimation then they are, and the honor and glory of God more aduaunced therby. (ed. 1585, sign. F. 4.)

* * * * * * *

Lij. And when I would departe: my Hoste and Pierce Plowman (whether I would or no) bring mee on my way to Doncaster; and did, and there caused mee to haue great entertainment without a peny charges for one whole day; and then we took either leaue of other, and departed each of vs toward his owne. After which departure, vpon the way as I traueled, I remembred *the* Prophet Dauid, who saith, 'I was glad when it was said vnto mee, wee shall go into the house of the Lord,' which I suppose be neuer ment by a com*m*on Inne or hosterie, where neuerthelesse I may safely say I found it. And therfore full true it is *that* Ouid saith, 'there is oftentimes a good fish in a water where a man would little think.' Wee boast much of ciuilitie and nurture in the South partes of this land, namely in London, and dispraise and dispise the North as rude and vnciuil, but surely for mine owne parte (that am a Southern man, and borne in Kent), to speak indifferently for any thing that euer I haue found in all my trauel in both the partes, I cannot see nor know why the Northern People should not rather pittie vs, then enuie vs, concerning either Godlynes, Vertue, or good maners; for heer I haue spoken of the basest kind of People, wherby it may partly approoue what hope there is of the Gentlemen, merchants, and them of the good Townes and Citties, for whose sakes, and generally for all others, I vndertook to gather and to report this little Conference, and with Gods help and fauour haue doon it as neer accordant to the trueth as I could, neither adding therto nor taking there from, the desire wherof caused mee to take the lesser Iourneis homewarde, and to write it by parcells at my Innes least I might haue forgotten it.

[1] specially

[2] The Theatre was James Burbage's Shoreditch Theatre, near the site of the present Standard Theatre. The Curtain was another theatre close by.

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And herein I protest that I haue neither flattered no belyed any man, for my meaning is trueth, and the commendation therof, and therin is no flattery; for surelie if I haue flattered any body, it is mine owne self in *that*, that where before I was perswaded that pride had vtterly corrupted this whole common welth, and had clean ouerspred it with his generation of all vngodlynes, and wickednes, wherof all times and ages doo agree with him to be the father, sithence this Iourney I begin to hope *that* God wil haue mercy vpon vs, and hath, and that he hath reserued vnto him self a remnaunt, as hee did in the time of Elias, for whose sakes hee will spare the rest, as le offered vnto Abraham, touching Sodome and Gomorra.

Therfore the intent of this my collection thus appearing: I refer my self to the iudgement of them to whose hands it shal heerafter come, desiring their good woord in recompence therof, and also of my long and weary Iourney, wherof this labour was mine only rewarde.

Beseeching Almightie God, of his great mercie and clemency to graunt vnto the same no wursse effect than I haue ment therin, and that by the Appostles councel, we may consider that wee are but strangers and pilgrimes heer in earth, and that there after wee may order our liues and conuersation longing for our owne Cuntrie, content to suffer, and to forbeare, and glad to heare or see the thing that may bee for our edifying, learning, and knowledge, to bee the meeter and better welcome into our Cuntrie, which is the Heauenly Jerusalem, whether God for Christes sake bring vs all

Amen.

Finis

Laus Deo.

Fœlix qui potuit Rerum cognoscere causas.

Who wil arise with me against the wicked, or who wil take my part against the euil dooers?

The Apologie, and Conclusion of the Author.

THus ended is this shorte Collection
Rude and vnperfect for his want of skil,
Who should haue giuen it perfection,
and would, if his might had been to his wil.
Or else if time had therunto suffised,
To haue perused it and recognised.

¶ But for as much as I did fayle of bothe,
To wit, of Learning and also of time,

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And to let dye such matter I was lothe,
Though I ne could it duely enlumine;
Yet, for my God and for my Cuntries sake,
Me thought of force I must it vndertake.

And namely for the woorthy Shire of Kent,
Famous of olde time for humanitie,
As is to finde in writing auncient,
Besides what dayly proof dooth testifie;
Sith I was borne in her, me thought of right
I ought to bring this matter into sight.

¶ So strongly ruleth looue the part of man,
Namely that looue whiche is so naturall,
To doo his Cuntry good in what he can,
That his good hart is to be borne withall;
For God requesteth of a man his will,
Although he want wherwith it to fulfil.

¶ These are the causes why I took on mee,
To be reporter of this Conference
Which I haue doon as heer is plain to see,
As neer as I could followe their sentence;
Wherin if I haue failed any whit,
I pray you in good part to taken it.

¶ For first touching the matter in substance,
The Speakers are the Authors, and not I;
As for the order in deliuerance,
I put in the Readers curtesie
To mend it, or take it as it is,
For he is wise that dooth nothing amisse.

Finis
Aut bibe aut Abi.

---

4. *The Case is Altered*, 1604. (Not by Francis Thynne, created Lancaster Herald in 1603.)

TO THE READER.

Gentle Reader, I pray God, I do not flatter you, for if you should proue either vnwise, or vnkinde, I should call in my Title: So it is, that hauing nothing to do, I set myselfe on work about a litle better matter, to write downe certain Cases neuer pleaded, but only discoursed vpon, by a couple of idle people; the matters handled, are of no great moment, and therefore scarce worth the reading: but yet if

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you peruse them all ouer, no doubt but some of them wil please you: if any of them do otherwise, I am sory, I knowe not your humour; but if you finde yourselfe touched with any euil, rather mend the fault in your selfe, then finde fault with me. In brief, I only write vpon Cases, neither kniue-Cases, Pinne-Cases, nor Candle-Cases, but onely a fewe merry pittiful Cases: In which if I haue lost time, I am sory for my labour; If I haue lost my labour, I am sory for my time; but if I haue gained your good will, all is not lost: and I thanke you; but, because I knowe not where to come to you to tell you so, I leaue you to reade and like what you list, and to think of me as you haue cause; and so in good will, I rest.

Your friend, F. T.

. . . . . .

[*sign. B, back*]

Dal. . . . But what is become of my neighbours *Biros* daughter.

Mil. Alas the day. there is a pittifull Case indeed, if you speake of a Case to be pittied. A young wench, a faire wench, a fine wench, a pretty wench, a sweet wench, a gallant wench, a proper wench, a wise wench, an honest wench, a kinde wench, a good wench; that could speake well, and daunce well, and sing well, and play well, & worke well, and do euery thing well, to be cast away; I say, cast away: yea vtterly cast away vpon a Noddy, a Ninny-hamer, a Tame-goose, a Woodcocke, a Meacocke, a Dawcocke, that loues nothing but fatte meate, and can spel nothing but Pudding, & yet put vp in gay cloaths must stand in stead of a better man, to be the vndoing of such a peerlesse woman, & all for a little trash: Oh wicked money, to be the Actor of such a mischiefe: is not this a pittifull Case?

Dal. It is: and poore heart (were not wishing in vaine) I could beteeme her a better match: for to see a Diamonde buryed in Sea-coale ashes, it is pitty; it deserues a better soyle: & in truth had I such a daughter, she should spin, & I would reele, and we would make thread for a liuing, before I would bring her to her death by such a miserie.

Mil. You say well, & so I thinke should I. but 'tis a pittifull Case, and so let it be.

. . . . . .

[*sign. C 2, back*]

Mil. Then heare me, thus it was. An old woman, a very old woman, a crooked old woman, a creeping old woman, a lame woman, a deafe woman, a miserable woman, a wretched woman, a wicked woman, fell with halfe a sight, (for shortly after she fell blind) in loue with a prety, neate, nimble, spruse, liuely, handsome, & in truth, louely young man, and so faire, as after the manner of the country

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people, she would, if she met him in a morning, bid him good morrow, with "how doe you, sonne, ? I praie you come neere," if it were neere her house, and "I praie you sit downe," and "I pray you drinke, and how doth your good father, and your mother and all your house, ? In troath you are welcome, I am sorie I have no good cheere for you, but such as I haue, I pray you doe not spaire: if I haue any thing in my house, it is at your commande: In deede I euer loued you of a childe, and if I had a daughter I would giue her, with all I haue, to you; that I would, I, truly, would I: but, and you could make much of an old woman, it may be. I haue some old Ruddockes that saw no day these twenty winters and ten, that may make a young man merry: yea, and perhaps make you liue by their noses that holde their heads full high." And thus, with shewing of him all her wealth, which she coniured him to keepe secret, & giuing a piece of gold or two with him, she made him doe, yea mary did he, that which his conscience had no comfort in, and he found no good of; for hauing robbed her cupberd of a great deale a coine, only bearing her in hand to be her Asse-band, and for a little ilfauoured kindnes, it fell out, that shortly after, he falling in loue with a neighbours daughter, a wench worthy the loooking on, when all parties were agreed, the matter was made vp, hands were ioyned, hearts were ioyfull, the Banes were asked, the Bride and Groome were married, the guests were bidden, the dinner was readie; the minstrells plaid, the youth danced, and the old fooles laught, and the day was well past, and nothing longed for but night, and then the supper done, the guestes departed, then curtesie and "I thank you," the Rich had their bellies full, and the beggers had their pockets full, and the house was at quiet, the doores were shut, the fire and candel put out, the bed made softe, and the sheets white washed, and the pillowes sprinckled with rose water, and all things in order, for the comfort of these yong couple; the old woman that grewe mad at this match, though she durst not forbid the banes, being at the church, and hearing of diuerse saying "God giue you ioy," fell to mumbling to herselfe, and some sorrow too; when how she wrought with her Inchantment, I know not, but the young people might kisse, while she might sigh, and he fret, but there was no further matter to be performed; and this continued some two yeares, till she in love and modesty, concealing her miserie, & he seeking all meanes he could for his comfort, and finding none, met by chance with this old woman, and in a mistrust that shee had done him some villainie with her ill tongue, fell vpon her, and throwing her downe, trode vpon her, & did beate her, till he left her for dead; and indeed she neuer eate bread after; for going home to her house, belike going about some other hellishnes, her Cruch slipping, she fell ouer the threshold, and broke her neck: when the young man came home, and talked so kindly with his wife, that within fortie weekes after she brought him a goodly boy: And is not this a pittifull Case,

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that a man should so long be tormented by the wicked tongue of a woman

Dal. A woman, you would say the shape of a woman, for a witch is but a diuell Incarnate, it is pittie that any of them are suffered to liue. But to requite you: not many miles from the town wher I dwel, there was an old man, a filthy old man, a coughing, sneueling, bleer-eied, wry-mouthed, botle-nosed, lame-legged, palsie-handed, stumpe-footed, wry-bodied, gagge-toothed, slandering-tongue, foh, stinking-breathed, who walked but vpon cruches, read but with spectacles, and spake with a shaking, nodding, or a noddy head; this ougly obiect, or rather abiect of nature, the sorrow of youthes eie-sight, the disprofit of time, the hate of loue, and the lamentation of hope, such a man as is not in the world to be seene, by very ill fortune, vppon a faire day chanced to meete with a Tenants daughter of his, whom hauing well viewed, as his dimme sight would give him leaue, giuing a nodde to her curtesie, sent the next day for her to his house; but the wench the day before hauing so much of his sight, that she desired neuer to see him more, with bitter teares fell at her fathers feete, and desired him to goe, and know his pleasure, and make excuse for her, that she was not well, but the next day she would come to him: the poore man seeing his daughter change colour, did yeelde to her request, put on his best shooes, & a cleane band, & being but a litle way to his house, through want of a horse went on foote, when, but a litle wet shod, with slipping into a ditch, he comes at last to the doore of this rich clowne, who being head Bailiffe to the chiefe Lord of the manner, kept a house, the best thatched of all his neighbours in the parish; there being saluted by a couple of fowle curres, not much vnlike their old maister, being of his old acquaintance, shewed him but their teeth, & then wagging their tailes, did him no harme, but let him there stay til this Chaps, the old mezil, hearing his dogges, and knowing their voices, came out to heare whom they talke too, and there seeing this poore man stand cappe in hand, setting himselfe downe vpon a bench, after a horse cough, and a spalling spet or two, begins to aske him for his daughter, whose excuse being made, he falls aboord with him for her, to haue her for his seruant: which he answering with an excuse, that it could not be, for she had taken earnest of a gentlewoman, to waite on her in her chamber; which he belieuing, answered that he would do more for her then any gentlewoman of them all, for he had no children, and he would make her both his childe and his wife; and therefore she should take no care for seruice: the poore man, glad of this message, went home merily to his daughter, told her what good fortune was towards her, for ioy sent for the other pot, & now thought to take no care for rent, when his child should be his Landlady: but the poore girl—seeming to her father to be as ioyfull as he—when her father was gone to his daies worke in the morning, tooke an old sacke, in which she put vp all her cloathes that she had, and away goes she to an Aunt she had

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ten miles of, and there with howling and crying, that her father ment to marrie her to the diuel, intreated her to put her to seruice, for she had rather washe buckes all daies of her life, then be matched with such a monster: "Oh Aunt, euery bodie saies that he kild his last wife with kindnes, and I thinke he would do as much with me. Oh tis a venome man as liues; and truly Aunt it is such an il-fauoured man, and he hath such a breath, It is a beastly creature; besides, the house that he dwells in, he hath but his life in; but, if he had all the world, and as much good as would lie in all your house, I would not haue him, I had rather begge my bread."

Her Aunt seeing the honest heart of the poore wench and knowing that she could set a seame together, and handle her needle prettily, for a plaine hemme, & could tell how to eate a peece of meate, howeuer she could dresse it, spake to a gentlewoman neere vnto her, to take her into her seruice, droue a bargaine for her wages, brought her to her, and placed her with her: where she behaued her selfe well, and was well thought on; and there I leaue her. Now home comes her father, misseth his daughter, runnes to his Landlord, thinking to finde her there; the micher thinkes he is mockte, he falles out with his Tenant, warnes him out of his house; the poore man goes home weeping, his wife with her handes wringing entertaines him with a scolding, railing vpon him, cursing her Landlord, and sweares she will haue her home, 'hang him, dogge, he shall not be the death of her daughter, she will not dwel in his house, she will haue her childe out of his house, or she will beate downe his doores'; and is as good as her word; the next morning with an open mouth goes to his doores, where lowder then both his Mastiffes shee maketh an outcry for her childe.

The man, knowing her to be an vnreasonable woman, entreats her to be quiet, sweares by the cross of his Crutch that he knowes not whither she is gone; and with much adoe to pacifie her, gettes himselfe ridde of her; when comming home, and not finding her deare daughter, she falls into such an agony, that a horse would not abide it. When the poore man with griefe takes such thought that he can eate no meat, and she weary, & almost out of breath with scolding, goes to bed for anger; and the old man, with sorrow to loose his loue, and to see her parents misery, after a fit of the stone, with a stitch of the Chollick, being griped at *the* heart & fearing to leaue the world, sendes for his Tenant, forgiues him his rent, & giues his house to his daughter, if she be found againe; and so bestowing among the poore of the Parish some litle matter not worth the speaking of, hauing made al meanes he could, and by her parents good care and trauaile, found out, and brought vnto him some houre before his death, gaue her in an old foule Handkercheffe, that which payde for more then the washing of two faire Smockes, and so causing the great Bell to be towlde, after a hollow hemme or two, euen for Loue, (because he

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could liue no longer) dyed. And is not this of a long Case, a pittifull Case?

Mil. Yes, if it were true, but surely tis a iest; there was neuer such a man, nor such a matter.

Dal. Well then, say it were a iest, was it not a pittifull iest.?

Mil. If there were anie pittie, it was in that hee liued so long.

. . . . . .

(*sign. D.* 4.)

When they had thus ended their Cases, and giuen each other a good night, and came home to their wiues in good time, that al things were quiet for that night, the next day about nine of the clock in the morning, according to promise they met at the place appointed, the great Oake, vnder which, when they had a litle rested themselues, vpon their walking staues, after a litle ordinary salutations, with "good morrow, and well met, and how doe you with all your household?" "Well, I thanke God, and I thanke you, and God hold it," and so forth, taking vp their cudgells with "come, goe, the morning goes away and the market will be done," away they goe together, and being some foure or fiue miles to the towne, they fell into new matters to talke vpon, which, if you wil tary til they be written, as I haue heard them, true or false as they be, you shall haue them, in the [meane] time hoping you will haue patience with this, till you heare of what followes, I will thus end.

A merry Case is wittifull,
A wofull case is pittifull;
The wittifull doth breede but Iest,
The pittifull may breede vnrest;
Then leaue the last, and take the first,
And take the best, and leaue the worst.

FINIS.

II *F.* With consistent recklessness, Mr Collier also says[1] that the following poem written by George Turberville, to a friend whose *age* (l. 8) he contrasts with his own *youthfull yeares* (l. 9) "*must* have been" addresst to "Francis Thynne," when Turberville was actually older than Francis Thynne, probably 15 years older, as Turberville's conjecturd birth-year is 1530 (Hole, *Biog. Dict.* 1865). So that when Thynne was 22, the comparatively old Turberville of 37, or thereabouts, contrasted his youthful years with his junior's old age!

[1] Bibl. Catal. iii. 450.

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And as there was an earlier edition of the book, Thynne may not have even reacht 21 when Turberville's poem was written.

[*George Turbervile's Epitaphes, Epigrams, &c. London*, 1567; *leaf* 79, *back.*]

To his Friend Francis[1] Th: leading his lyfe in the Countrie at his desire.

My Francis, whilst you breath your foming steede
Athwart the fields in peace to practise warre,
In Countrie whilst your keneld Hounds doe feede,
Or in the wood for taken pray doe iarre;
Whilst you with Haukes the sielie Foule doe slaye,
And take delight a quick retriue to haue,
Wasting your age in pleasure passing braue:
To flee to marke, and heare the Spanels baye,
In Citie *I my youthfull yeares* doe spende,
At Booke perhaps sometime to weare the day:
Where man to man, not friend to friend, doth lende,
With vs is naught but pitch (my Friend) and pay.
Great store of Coyne, but fewe enioy the same,
The owners holde it fast with lymed handes;
We liue by losse, we play and practise game;
Wee by and sell; the streate is all our landes.
Well storde we are of e[v]rie needefull thing,
Wood, Water, Coale, Flesh, Fishe we haue ynow:
(What lack you? Wyues and Maides doe daylie sing
The Horne is rife, it sticks on many a brow.)
But yet (I say) the Countrie hath no peere,
The Towne is but a toyle, and wearie lyfe:
We like your Countrie sportes (Friend Francis) heere,
The Citie is a place of bate and strife.
Wherefore I thinke thee wise and full of thrift,
That fledst the Towne, and hast that blessed gift.

[In Turberville's volume there is another poem, of 3 pages, "To his Friend T: hauing bene long studied and well experienced, and now at length louing a Gentlewoman that forced[2] him naught at all," leaf 76, back.

I Thought good fayth, & durst haue gagde my hand
For you (Friend T.) *that* beautie should now hight
Haue rasde your hart, nor *Cupid* with his brand
Haue brought thy learned breast to such a plight.]

[1] In the edition of 1570 this is printed *Frances*, and so in the table at the beginning, but it has *his lyfe* like the 1st edition.
[2] cared for

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Messrs Cooper give the following authorities[1] for their Life of Thynne and list of his Works, in the *Gent.'s Mag.*, July, 1865 (p. 90):—

Ayscough's Cat. of MSS.
Bernard's Cat. of MSS.
Black's Cat. of Ashmol. MSS. 383, 520, 559, 625.
Blakeway's Sheriffs of Salop, 116.
Botfield's Stemmata Botevilliana, 29, 51-53, 56, 59, 66, cxxxvi. clxxvi. cccxliii.
Collier's Bridgewater Catalogue, 217, 311, 312.
Collier's Rarest Books, i. p. xlii. 334; ii. 25, 427, 432, 450.
Collier's Reg. Stat. Comp., ii. 101.
MS. Cotton.
Gough's Topogr., i. 473; ii. 42, 563.
MS. Harl.
Hearne's Curious Discourses, 2 ed. i. 13, 21, 33, 66, 139, 251; ii. 24, 143, 444.
Herald and Genealogist, i. 74.
Herbert's Ames.
MS. Lansd.
Lemon's Cal. Dom. St. Pap. ii. 487, 559, 564.
Lowndes's Bibl. Man. ed. Bohn, 2,682.
Moule's Bibl. Herald. 119, 309, 324.
Noble's Coll. of Arms, 184, 188, 213.
Restituta, i. 548
Ritson's Bibl. Poet. 361.
Rymer, xvi. 471.
Todd's Cat. Lamb. MSS.
Topogr. and Geneal. iii. 471-473, 483.
Watts' Bibl. Brit.
Wood's Ath. Oxon., ed. Bliss, ii. 107.

[1] This lumping of authorities is an awful nuisance. When you want to verify any one statement, you may have to turn to all the authorities before you find what you seek.

In one of the Bodleian copies (C. 13. 10. Linc., Pamph. 124 (imperf.),) of "A / Discourse / concerning the / Basis and Original / of / Government, / with / The Absolute and Indispensable Necessity of it; / Wherein the Excellency of / Monarchy / Above any other Kind is Evidently Demonstrated. / As it was Delivered by way of Charge to the Grand-Jury, / at a Quarter-Sessions of the Peace held at Ipswich in the / County of Suffolk. / By F. T. Esq; One of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the / said County. [*a Hebrew motto from*] Adag: Rabbin: London, / Printed by W. G. for Robert Littlebury, and are to be Sold at / the Signe of the Unicorn in Little-Britain, 1667. 4to. A in 2, B, C, D, E, F. in fours, p. i, ii. 1—40,—is written beneath, in a hand of that date, "Franc. Thynn Esq." Is this a Collieresque guess, or fact? Says

"The Book-seller to the Reader.

Courteous Reader,

THe Publication of this Discourse hath been much Desired by several sober and judicious Persons; but such is the Modesty of the AUTHOR, that hitherto he hath had a Reluctancy thereunto, until now that by my Importunity I have prevailed with him to Expose it to Publick View for the Satisfaction of others, although not of himself.—R. L."

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CONTENTS

OF

F. THYNNE'S *ANIMADVERSIONS*.

A. Proem. The cause of F. Thynne's writing (p. 1).

B. Text. His correction of Speght's Mistakes:—

I. Speght's Mistakes about William Thynne's Editions of *Chaucers Workes*, with the curious History of those Editions (p. 5).

II. Speght's 15 Mistakes as to Chaucer's Family, Life, etc.; as to Edward III's Marriage; Chaucer's friend Gower; Katherine Swynford, etc. (p. 12).

III. Speght's Mistakes as to the *Roman de la Rose*, and Chaucer's *Dreme*, or *Dethe of Blaunche the Duchesse* (p. 27).

IV. Speght's 18 Mistakes in explaining some of Chaucer's Words:—

aketon (p. 31)
besant (p. 31)
fermentacion (p. 32)
orfrayes (p. 33)
oundye and crispe (p. 35)
resager (arsenic) (p. 36)
begyn and bigot (p. 37)
citrination (p. 38)
forage (p. 38)
heroner (a hawk) (p. 39)
hip (of sweetbriar) (p. 40)
Nowell (p. 40)
porphery (p. 40)
sendale (p. 41)
trepegett (p. 41)
wiver (wyvern) (p. 41)
authentic (p. 42)
abandon (p. 42)

Digitized by Google

V. SPEGHT'S 27 MISTAKES IN HIS ANNOTACIONS ON, AND CORRECTIONS OF, THE TEXT OF CHAUCER:

vernicle (p. 43)
Campaneus (p. 43)
malady of Hereos (p. 44)
value of a florin (p. 45)
oke unserial (p. 47)
'eyther' syde (p. 50)
'and also' the intellecte (of Arcite) (p. 50)
'yt haughte,' for 'armes straught' (p. 51)
'then his visage,' for 'his vassalage' (p. 52)
'lefe,' for 'lothe' (p. 52)
'coughed,' for 'knocked' (p. 52)
'Russye,' for 'Surrye' (*Squire's Tale*) (p. 53)
'there may no wighte,' for 'that may not' (p. 54)
'and his Paraphraste,' for 'Theophraste' (p. 55)
'Couentrye,' for 'Countrye' (p. 56)
'wakethe,' for 'maketh' (p. 56)
Hugh of Lincoln (p. 57)
'Ware the sunne,' for 'Where the sunne' (p. 57)
'Quenda,' for 'Quendrida' (p. 59)
'Taurus was fortye degrees and one' (p. 59)
'Mereturicke,' for 'Mercenricke' (p. 62)
'pellure,' for 'pilloure' (p. 63)
'They eate,' for 'with change' (p. 63)
'Myters they weare' (p. 64)
'The lordes sonne of Windsore' (*Rom. Rose*) (p. 65)
meaning of 'Ordeal' (p. 66)
'bewrayer,' for 'wreaker' (stork, of adultery) (p. 67)

VI. FIVE MORE MISTAKES OF SPEGHT'S, AND THEN ONE MORE:—

1. HE'S PUT *THE PLOWMANS TALE* IN THE WRONG PLACE, BEFORE *THE PARSONS TALE*, INSTEAD OF AFTER (p. 68).

2. HASN'T MARKT THE SPURIOUS WORKS (p. 69).

3. HAS MIS-STATED THE FACT ABOUT THE DEDICATION OF THE FIRST *CHAUCER* TO HENRY VIII (p. 70).

4. HASN'T NAMD ALL THE AUTHORS USD BY CHAUCER (p. 71).

5. HAS WRONGLY PRINTED '*HAROLTES*' FOR '*HARLOTTES*' IN THE *ROMAUNTE OF THE ROSE* (p. 71).

6. HAS LIKEWISE THERE PUT *MINORESSE* FOR *MOUERESSE* (p. 74).

F. THYNNE'S INTENDED EDITION OF *CHAUCER* (p. 75).

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ANIMADVERSIONS.

To the righte Honorable his singuler good Lorde Sir Thomas Egertone, knighte, lorde keper of the greate seale, and master of the Roolles of the Chancerye. [*leaf* i]

It was (Ryghte Honorable and my verye good lorde) one annciente and gretlye Estemed Custome emongeste the Romans in the heigh[t]e of their glorye, In Rome, that eche one, accordinge to their abylytye or the every one desarte of his frende, did, in the begynnynge of the monthe of Januarye (consecrated to the dooble faced on New-Year's Day godd Janus, one the fyrste daye whereof they made electione of their cheife officers and magistrates) presente somme gyfte vnto his frende as the noote and gave his friend some gift as a pledge of the contynued and encresed amytye * betwene [* *leaf* ij, *back*] them, a pollicye gretlye to be regarded, for the manye pledge of friendship. good effectes whiche issue from so woorthye cause. This custome not restinge in the lymyttes of Italye, This custom but spredinge with the Romans (as did their language and many other their vsages & lawes) into euerye perticuler Countrye where theyr powre and gouermente stretched, passed also ouer the Oceane into the litle worlde of Brytannye, being neuer exiled from thence, came to Britain; nor frome those, whome eyther honor, amytye, or dutye doth combyne. ffor whiche cause, lest I myghte offende and in accordance with it in the breche of that most excellente and yet embraced Custome, I thinke yt my parte to presente vnto

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I present your Lordship with this New-Year's Gift,

your *Lordship* suche poore neweyeres gyfte[1] as my weake estate and the barrennesse of my feble skyll will permytte: Wherefore, and because Cicero affirmethe, that he whiche hathe once ouer passed the frontiers of modestye must for euer after be impudente,[2] (a grounde

[* *leaf* iij]

as I before gave

*whi*che *I fynde fully veryfyed in my selfe, havinge once before outgonne the boundes of shamefastnesse in presentinge to your Lordshippe my confused collec*tions and disordered discourse of the Chauncelors)[3] I ame nowe become vtterlye impudente in not blusshinge to salute yo^u^ agayne (in the begynnynge of this newe yere) with my petye animadver*sions*, vppon the annotac*ions* and corrections deliuered by master Thomas Speghte vppon the last edit*ione* of Chaucers Workes in the yere of oure redempt*ione* 1598; thinges (I confesse) not so answereable to your Lordshippes iudgmente, and my desyre, as boothe your desarte and my dutye doo challenge. But althoughe they doo not in all respectes satisfye youre Lordshippes expectac*ione* and my goode will, (accordinge as I wyshe they sholde), yet I dobt not but your lordshippe (not degeneratinge from youre former cur*tesye* wontinge to accompanye all youre ac*tions*) will accepte these trifles from your lovinge well-willer in suche sorte, as I shall acknowledge my selfe beholdinge and endebted to your Lordshippe for the same. Whiche I hoope your Lordshippe will the rather doo (with pardonynge my presumptione) because yo^u^ haue, by the former good acceptance of my laste booke, emboldened me to make tryall of the lyke acceptance of this pampfelette. Wherefore yf your Lordshippe shall receve yt curteouslye (and so not to dischorage

you my Discourse on the Chancellors.

The present book is 'Strictures on Speght's late edition of Chaucer's Works, 1598,'

and I trust you

[* *leaf* iij, *back*]

will receive it,

so that I shall feel indebted to you.

[1] MS. gyste

[2] MS. aster be innpudente

[3] "*The names and Armes of the Chancellors collected into one Catologue by ffrancis Thynn declaring the yeres of the reignes of the kinges and the yere of our Lorde in whiche they possessed that office.*"—Folio MS. Bridgewater Library.—G. H. K.

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mee in my swete and studiouse idlenesse) I will hereafter consecrate to your lykinge soome better labor of moore momente and higher subiecte, answerable to the excellencye of your iudgmente, and mete to declare the fulnesse of the dutyfull mynde and service I beare and owe vnto youre lordshippe, to whome in *all reuerence I commytte this simple treatyce. Thus (withe hartye prayer comendinge youre estate to the Almightye (who send to your Lordshippe manye happye and helthfull yeres and to me the enlarged contynuance of Youre honorable fauour) I humblye take my leave.

If you do, I will send you a better book hereafter.

[* *leaf* iv]

Clerkenwell grene
the xx of
December
1599.

Your Lordshippes wholye to dyspose,

Francis Thynne.
/. /. /. ./.

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[*leaf* 1]

To Master Thomas Speighte

ffrancis Thynn sendethe
greetinge.

Master Speght, your new edition of Chaucer deserves praise,

The Industrye and love (master Speighte) whiche yo^{u} haue vsed, and beare, vppon and to oure famous poete Geffrye Chaucer, deseruethe bothe comendatione and furtherance: the one to recompense your trauayle, the other to accomplyshe the duetye, whiche we all beare (or at the leaste, yf we reuerence lernynge or regarde the honor of oure Countrye, sholde beare) to suche a singuler ornamente of oure tonge as the woorkes of Chaucer are: Yet since there is nothinge so fullye perfected, by anye one, whereine somme imperfectione maye not bee founde, (for as the prouerbe is, 'Barnardus,' or as others have, 'Alanus, non videt omnia,') yo^{u} must be contented to gyve me leave, in discharge of the duetye and love whiche I beare to Chaucer, (whome I suppose I have as great intereste to adorne withe my smale [*]skyll as anye other hath, in regarde that the laborious care of my father made hym most acceptable to the worlde in correctinge and augmentinge[1] his woorkes,) to enter into the examinatione of this newe editione,[2] and that the rather, because yo^{u},

but as nothing is perfect,

you must let me,

[* *leaf* 1, *back*]

as my father edited the poet,

examine your book,

[1] Thynne was the first man who profesat to edit Chaucer's Works. He printed for the first time, Chaucer's *Adam Scrivener*, *Legende*, *Boece*, *Blanche*, *Pity*, *Astrolabe*, and *Stedfastnesse* (and put 19 spurious pieces into his volume). See note 1, p. 7.

[2] That is, Speght's of 1598.

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with Horace his verse "si quid novisti rectius istis, candidus imparti," have willed all others to further the same, and to accepte your labors in good parte, whiche, as I most willingly doo, so meaninge but well to the worke, I ame to lett yo^{u} vnderstande my conceyte thereof, whiche before this, yf yo^{u} woulde have vouchesafed my howse, or have thoughte me worthy to have byn acqueynted with these matters (whiche yo^{u} might well have donne without anye whatsoeuer dispargement to your selfe,) yo^{u} sholde haue vnderstoode before the impressione, althoughe this whiche I here write ys not nowe vppon selfe will or fonnd conceyte to wrangle for one asses shadowe, or to seke a knott in a rushe, but in frendlye sorte to bringe truthe to lighte, a thinge whiche I wolde desire others to vse towardes mee in whatsoeuer shall fall oute of my penne. Wherefore I will here shewe suche thinges as, in mye opynione, may seme to be touched, not medlinge withe the seconde editione to one inferior personne[1] then my fathers editione was.

and tell you some things which, if you'd condescended to call on me, or tell me what you were about, you might have known before.

[* *leaf* 2]

(I shan't touch that inferior person, Stowe's, edition.)

[I. *Speght snubd for implying faults in William Thynne's editions of Chaucer.*
The curious History of those Editions.]

Fyrste in your forespeche to the reader, yo^{u} saye 'secondly, the texte by written copies corrected[2]': by whiche worde 'corrected,' I maye seme to gather, that yo^{u} imagine greate imperfectione in my fathers editione, whiche peraduenture maye move others to saye (as some vnadvisedlye have sayed) that my father had wronged Chaucer:) Wherefore, to stoppe that gappe, I will answere, that Chaucers woorkes haue byn sithens printed twyce, yf not thrice,[3] and therfore by oure care-

You say your text is 'corrected by written copies',

as if my father hadn't us'd MSS., and made a good text,

because the care-

[1] John Stowe's, 1561.
[2] "Secondly, The text by old written Copies corrected:" Speght 'To the Readers'.
[3] Only twice, so far as we know: 1. about 1550, by or for

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less reprinters have spoilt it.

lesse (and for the most *parte* vnlerned) printers of Englande, not so well performed as yt ought to bee: so that, of necessytye, bothe in matter, myter, and meaninge, yt must needes gather corrupt*ione*, passinge [* *leaf* 2, *back*] *throughe so manye handes, as the water dothe, the further yt r*u*nnethe from the pure founteyne. To enduce me and all others to iudge his edit*ione* (whiche I thinke yo*u* neuer sawe wholye to-gether, beinge fyrst printed but in one coolume in a page, whereof I will speake hereafter) was the p*er*fectest: ys the ernest desire and love my father hadde to have Chaucers Woorkes rightlye to be published. for the performance whereof, my father not onlye vsed the helpe of that lerned and eloquent kn[i]ghte and antiquarye Sir Briane Tuke, but had also made greate serche for copies to p*er*fecte his woorkes, as apperethe in the ende of the squiers tale, in his edit*ione* printed in the yere 1542[1]; but further had comiss*ione* to serche all the liberaries of Englande for Chaucers Work*es*, so that oute of all the Abbies of this Realme (whiche reserved anye monumentes thereof) he was fully furnished with multitude of Bookes. emongest w*hi*che, one coppye of some p*ar*t of his woorkes came to his handes subscribed in diuers places withe "examinatur *Chaucer." By this Booke, and conferringe manye of the other written copies to-gether, he deliuered his edit*ione*, fullye corrected, as the amendementes vnder his hande, in the fyrst printed booke that euer was of his woorkes (beinge stamped by the fyrste impress*ione* that was in

My father's first (cancelld) edition had only one column in a page.

In it he was not only helpt by Sir Brian Tuke,

but he had a commission to search for copies of Chaucer's Works in all the Abbey Libraries. And he got many copies, of which Chaucer himself had examind one.

[* *leaf* 3]

Collating all these MSS., my father had a fully corrected text in his,

the very first, collected edition of *Chaucer's Works*,

the booksellers Wm Bonham, R. Kele, Petit, Robert Toye, (with the spurious Plowman's Tale *before* the Parson's, instead of after it, as in Thynne's 2nd edition, in 1542); 2. in 1561 by John Stowe for the booksellers, Ihon Kyngston, &c., and Henry Bradsha, citizen and grocer of London.

[1] The only words used are "There can be founde no more of this foresayd tale, whiche hath ben sought in dyuers places."

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Englande) will well declare, at what tyme he added manye thinges *whi*che were not before printed,[1] as yo^u^ nowe haue donne soome,[2] of whiché I ame *per*swaded (and that not *wi*thoute reasone) the originall came from mee.[3] In *whi*che his edit*i*one, beinge printed but *wi*th one coolume in a syde, there was the pilgrymes tale, a thinge moore odious to the Clergye, then the speche of

and printed in it many new pieces.

In my father's first (cancelld) edition was *The Pilgrim's Tale*,

[1] He added the spurious and the 6 genuine works named in note 1 on page 4.

Thynne, 1532.

GENUINE.	SPURIOUS.
Canterbury Tales.	Romaunt of the Rose.
Troylus.	Testament of Creseyde.
†Legende.	Goudly Balade, Mother of Nature.
†Boethius.	Floure of Curtesy.
Parl. of Fowles.	Balade ('With al my might').
†Blanche (Dreame).	La belle dame sans mercy.
Bukton, *t. i.* *Marriage.*	Assemble of Ladyes.
†Pity.	(Lydgate's) Complaynt of the blacke knyght.
Annelida.	A preyse of women.
†Astrolabe.	Testament of Loue (prose).
House of Fame.	Lamentatyon of Mary Magdaleyne.
Complaynt of Mars.	Remedy of Loue.
„ „ Venus.	(Hoccleve's) Letter of Cupyde.
Gentleness,—in (S)	A Balade of our Lady ('a thousande stories').
†Stedfastness.	Johan Gower: Balade to kyng Henry the fourth.
Truth.	Of the Cuckowe and the Nyghtyngale.
Fortune.	(S) Scogan vnto the lordes and gentylmen of the kynges house.
Envoy to Scogan.	2 stanzas 'Go forthe, kyng.'
Purse.	(Lydgate's?) Consyder wel euery circumstance.
† For the first time.	Epitaphium Galfridi Chaucer.

[2] Speght added the 2 spurious poems 'Chaucer's Dreme,' and 'the Flower & the Leaf.'

[3] Does this mean that Speght borrowd Francis Thynne's copies, and printed 'em without his leave, or that Speght had got hold of some of William Thynne's Chaucer MSS. which had been stolen from, or given away by, his son Francis, as notict on page 12? If the former, I feel no doubt that old William Thynne had the MSS. of these spurious poems, but did not print them, either because he felt they weren't Chaucer's, or because he got them after his 2nd edition of 1542 was publisht.

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the plowmanne; that pilgrimes tale begynnynge in this sorte;

> " In Lincolneshyre fast by a fenne,
> Standes a relligious howse who dothe
> yt kenne," &c.[1]

[1] Unluckily no MS. of *The Pilgrim's Tale*, or leaf of Wm. Thynne's 1st edition, is known to us now. But I reprint in an Appendix the bit of the *Tale* that Tyrwhitt saw. He says, " Though Mr Speght did not know where to find *The Pilgrim's Tale*, and the printer of the edition in 1687 assures us that he had searched for it 'in the public libraries of both Universities,' and also 'in all private libraries that he could have access unto,' I have had the good fortune to meet with a copy.* It is entitled '*The Pylgrymse Tale*,' and begins thus:—

> In Lincolneshyr fast by the fene
> There stant an hows and you yt ken,
> And callyd sempynham of religion
> And is of an old foundation, &c.

" There can be no doubt, I think, that this is the piece of which Mr Speght had received some confused intelligence. It seems to have been mentioned by *Bale* among Chaucer's works, in the following manner, '*Narrationes diversorum*, Lib. i. *In comitatu Lincolniensi fuit.*'—*Script. Brit.*, p. 526, ed. 1559. But it is impossible that any one who had read it should ascribe it to Chaucer. He is quoted in it twice by name, fol. xxxiii and fol. xlv, and in the latter place the reference seems to be made to a printed book. The reader shall judge:—

> He sayd he durst not it disclose,
> But bad me reyd the Romant of the Rose,
> *The thred leafe* just from the end,
> To *the secund page* ther he did me send,
> He prayd me thes vi. stavis for to marke,
> Whiche be *Chaucers* awn hand wark.
> ¶ Thus moche woll our boke sygnify'
> That while Peter hath mastery, &c.

[Then follow four more lines from Chaucer's Rom. R. v. 7263-8, ed. Urr.] It is not usual, at least, to cite MSS. by *the leaf* and *the page*. But if this citation was really made from a printed book, *The Pilgrim's Tale* must have been written after Mr Thynne's edition, for Chaucer's translation of the Romant of the Rose was first printed in that edition. Another

* The copy, of which I speak, is in the black-letter, and seems to have once made part of a volume of miscellaneous poems, in 8vo. The first leaf is numbered xxxi, and the last xlv. *The Pilgrim's Tale* begins about the middle of fol, xxxi, *vers.*, and continues to the end of the fragment, where it breaks off imperfect. The first leaf has a running title—*Venus, The court of*—and contains the ten last lines of one poem, and another whole poem of twenty lines, before *The Pilgrim's Tale*.

This curious fragment was purchased at the auction of Mr West's library, in a lot (No. *1040) of *Sundry fragments of old black-letter books*, by Mr Herbert of Gulston's Square, who very obligingly permitted me to examine it. [Though Mr Hazlitt, in his *Handbook*, says that Douce had it, but it did not go to the Bodleian; it is there.]

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In this tale did Chaucer[1] most bitterlye enveye against the pride, state, couetousnes, and extorcione of the Bysshoppes, their officialls, Archdeacons, vicars generalls, comissaryes, and other officers of the spirituall courte. The Inventione and order whereof (as I haue herde yt related by some, nowe of good worshippe bothe in courte and countrye, but then my fathers clerkes,) was, that one comynge into this relligious howse, walked vpp and downe the churche, beholdinge goodlye pictures of Bysshoppes in the windowes, at lengthe the manne contynuynge in that contemplatione, not knowinge what Bishoppes they were, a grave olde manne withe a longe white hedde and berde, in a large blacke garment girded vnto hym, came forthe and asked hym, what he iudged of those pictures in the windowes, who sayed he knewe not what to make of them, but that they looked lyke vnto oure mitred Bishoppes; to whome the olde father replied, "yt is true, they are lyke, but not the same, for oure byshoppes are farr degenerate from them," and withe that, made a large discourse of the Bishopps and of their courtes.

telling forth the evil lives of Bishops and Church-Officials.

[* *leaf* 3, *back*]

The story of this *Pilgrim's Tale* was (as my father's clerks—now become men of good worship—have told me), that, to a man looking at painted windows,

and not knowing of what Bishops the figures were,

an old Father told him, 'of old Bishops,' and how bad the new ones and their courts were.

[* *leaf* 4]

This tale, when kinge henrye the eighte had redde, he called my father unto hym, sayinge, "Williame Thynne! I dobte this will not be allowed; for I suspecte the Byshoppes will call the in questione for yt."

When Henry VIII read the Tale, he said, 'William Thynne, the Bishops 'll be at you for this',

passage will fix the date of this composition still more clearly. In fol. xxxix .xl. are the following lines :—

Perkin werbek and Jak straw
And now of late *our cobler* the dawe.

One would not expect to find any mention of *Perkin Warbeck* in a work attributed to Chaucer; but, passing that over, I think it is plain, that *our cobler*, in the second line, means the leader of the Lincolnshire rebels in 1536, who, as Hollinshed tells us, p. 941, 'called himself *Captaine Cobler*, but was indeed a monk, named Doctor Mackarell.' *The Pilgrim's Tale* therefore was not written till *after* 1536, and consequently could not possibly be in Mr Thynne's first edition, which, as has been shown above, was printed *at latest* in 1532."—Tyrwhitt, *Appendix to Preface to Canterbury Tales*, p. vi, note, Moxon's ed. 1855; p. xv-xvii, notes, ed. 1775.

[1] That is, the unknown author. It is clearly not Chaucer's.

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to whome my father, beinge in great fauore with his prince, (as manye yet lyvinge canne testyfye,) sayed, "yf yo*ur* grace be not offended, I hoope to be protected by yo^{u}:" wherevppon the kinge bydd hym goo his waye, and feare not. Aꝉ whiche not withstandinge, my father was called in quest*i*one by the Bysshoppes, and heaved at by cardinaꝉ Wolseye, his olde enymye, for manye causes, but mostly for that my father had furthered Skelton to publishe his 'Collen Cloute' againste the Cardinaꝉ, the moste p*ar*te of whiche Booke was compiled in my fathers howse at Erithe in Kente. But for all my fathers frendes, the Cardinalls p*er*swadinge auctorytye was so greate withe the kinge,[1] that thoughe by the kinges *fauor my father escaped bodelye daunger, yet the Cardinaꝉ caused the kinge so muche to myslyke of that tale, that chaucer must be newe printed, and that discourse of the pilgrymes tale lefte oute; and so beinge printed agayne, some thynges were forsed to be omitted, and the plowmans tale (supposed, but vntrulye, to be made by olde Sir Thomas Wyat, father to hym which was executed in the firste yere of Quene Marye, and not by Chaucer) w*i*th muche ado p*er*mitted to passe with the reste,[2] in suche sorte that in one open parliamente (as I haue herde S*i*r Joħne Thynne reporte, beinge then a member of the howse,) when talke was had of Bookes to be forbidden,[3] Chaucer had there for euer byn condempned, had yt not byn that his woorkes had byn counted but fables. Whereunto yf yo^{u} will replye, that their colde not be any suche pilgrymes tale, be-

but promist to protect him.

However, through the power of Wolsey,—the old enemy of William Thynne, because most part of Skelton's *Colin Clout*

was written at Thynne's house at Erith,—

[* *leaf* 4, *back*]

my father's 1st edition of *Chaucer* was cancelld, and a 2nd printed, without *The Pilgrim's Tale*. And from the 3rd *The Plowman's Tale* was nearly left out.

Indeed, Chaucer's works would have been condemnd by parliament if they hadn't been held fables.

If you say *The Pilgrim's Tale* can't be Chaucer's

[1] This must have been before Wolsey's impeachment on 9th October, 1529, and probably before the beginning of the coolness between Wolsey and the King on the Divorce-cause being shifted to Rome in June 1529.

[2] That is, to pass in the 2nd extant edition by Thynne of Chaucer's Works (1542), for the Plowman's Tale is not in the first extant edition of 1532. Both editions are in double columns, folio.

[3] See p. xi, above.

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cause Chaucer in his prologues makethe not mentione of anye suche personne, which he wolde haue donne 'yf yt had byn so: for after that he had recyted the knighte, the squyer, the squiers yeomane, the prioresse, her noonne, and her thre preistes, the monke, the fryer, the marchant, the Clerke of Oxenforde, seriante at the lawe, franckleyne, haberdassher, goldsmythe, webbe, dyer and tapyster, Cooke, shypmane, doctor of physicke, wyfe of Bathe, parsonne and plowmane, he sayethe at the ende of the plowmans prologe,[1]

because the Pilgrim isn't nam'd in the *Prologue*,

[* *leaf* 5]

(in which Chaucer has only mentioned

> There was also a Reue, and a millere,
> A Sumpnoure, and a Pardoner,
> A manciple, and my selfe: there was no mo.

All whiche make xxx persons with Chaucer[2]: Wherefore yf there had byn anye moore, he wolde also haue recyted them in those verses: whereunto I answere, that in the prologes he lefte oute somme of those whiche tolde their tales; as the chanons yomane, because he came after that they were passed out of theyre Inne, and did over-take them, 'as in lyke sorte this pilgrime did or mighte doo, and so afterwardes be one of their companye, as was that chanons yeomane, althoughe Chaucer talke no moore of this pilgrime in his prologe then he doothe of the Chanons yeomane: whiche I dobt not wolde fullye appere, yf the pilgrimes prologe and tale mighte be restored to his former light, they being nowe looste, as manye other of Chaucers tales were before that, as I ame induced to thinke by manye reasons.[3]

30 persons besides himself,)

I answer that he's left out the Canon's Yeoman, who yet told a Tale,

[* *leaf* 5, *back*]

and so he may have left out the Pilgrim.

I believe many of Chaucer's Tales are lost.

But to leave this, I must saye that in those many written Bookes of Chaucer, whiche came to my fathers handes there were manye false copyes, whiche Chaucer shewethe in writinge of Adam Scriuener (as yu haue noted); of whiche written copies there came to me

Of my father, William Thynne's collection of Chaucer's MSS.

[1] That is, the description of the Plowman in the General Prologue.

[2] That is, 30 besides Chaucer, or 31 in all.

[3] As even the fragments of the Cook's and Squire's Tales have been preservd, I doubt the losing of any Canterbury Tales.

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some 25 came to me on his death.

after my fathers deathe some fyve and twentye, whereof some had moore, and some fewer, tales, and some but two, and some three. w*hi*che bookes beinge by me

[* *leaf* 6]

(as one nothinge dobting *of this whiche ys nowe donne for Chaucer) partly dispersed aboute xxvj yeres a-goo and partlye stoolen oute of my howse at Popler: I gave diuers of them to Stephen Batemanne,[1] person of Newington, and to diu*e*rs other, whiche beinge copies vnp*er*fecte, and some of them corrected by my fathers hande, yt maye happen soome of them to coome to so*mm*e of yo*ur* frendes handes; whiche I knowe yf I see agayne: and yf by anye suche written copies yo*u* have corrected Chaucer, yo*u* maye as well offende as seme to do good. But I judge the beste, for in dobtes I will not resolue with a settled iudgm*e*nte althoughe yo*u* may iudge this tediouse discourse of my father a needlesse thinge in setting forthe his diligence in breaking the yce, & gyvinge lighte to others, who may moore easeyly p*er*fecte then begyne any thinge, for "facilius est addere qua*m* Invenire"; and so to other matters.

Of these MSS., some were stolen, some given to Parson Stephen Bateman, &c.

Some were corrected by my father:

and if you've corrected Chaucer by these, you've probably done wrong.

Thus much of my father's work. He broke the ice.

[*II. Speght's* 15 *Mistakes as to Chaucer's Family, Life, &c.; as to Edward III's Marriage; Chaucer's Friend Gower; Katherine Swynford, &c.*]

[* *leaf* 6, *back*]

*Vnder the tytle of Chaucers countrye, yo*u* seme to make yt probable that Richarde Chaucer, vinetener of Londone, was Geffrye Chaucers father:[2] But I holde

1. You seem to think that Richard Chaucer [the poet's grandfather] was his father.

[1] Perhaps the Stephen Batman, 'Student in Diuinitie' 1577, 'Professor in Diuinitie' 1581, author of *The Trauayled Pylgrine*, 1569; *The Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes*, 1577; *The Doome warning all men to the Iudgmente*, 1581; *Batman vppon Bartholome, his Booke* De Proprietatibus Rerum, *newly corrected, enlarged and amended*, 1582, &c. &c.

[2] Speght cites the passage from the spurious *Testament of Love*, saying that "in the Citie of London . . . I was foorth growen"; and then says, "In the Records of the Guild Hall in London wee find, that there was one Richard Chaucer, Vintener of London in the 23 yeare of Edward the third, who might well be Geoffrey Chaucers father." But, as I found in the Hustings Roll, 110, 5 Ric. II, at the Guildhall, Chaucer

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that no moore then that Iohne Chaucer of londone, was father to Richarde; of whiche Iohne I fynde in the recordes in Dorso Rotulor. patent. memb. 24, de anno 30. Ed. 1. in the towre, that kinge Edwarde the firste had herde the compleinte of Iohne Chaucer of london, who was beaten and hurte, to the domage of one thousand pownde (that some amountinge at this daye to thre thowsande pownde;) for whiche a comissione wente forthe to enquire thereof. wherbye yt semethe that he was of some Reckonynge. But as I cannott saye that Iohne was father to Richarde, or hee to Geffroye: So yet this muche I will deliuer in settinge downe the antiquytye of the name of Chaucer, that his anncesters (as yu well coniecture) were strangers, as the etymon of his name (being frenche, in 'Englishe signyfyinge one who shueth or hooseth a manne) dothe prove; for that dothe the etymon of this worde 'Chausier' presente vnto vs; of whiche name I haue founde (besides the former recyted Iohne,) on[1] Elias chauseryr, lyvinge in the tyme of Henrye the thirde and of Edwarde the firste, of whome the recorde of pellis exitus in the receyte of the Exchequier in the firste yere of Edwarde the firste hathe thus noted: "Edwardus dei gratia &c. Liberate de thesauro nostro Elie Chauseryr decem solidos super arreragia trium obulorum diurnorum quos ad vitam suam, per litteras domini Henrici Regis, patris nostri, percepit ad scaccarium nostrum. datum per manum Walteri Merton cancellarii nostri, apud Westmonasterium, 24 Julii, anno regni nostri primo." With whiche Carractres ys Geffry Chausyer written in the Recordes in the tyme of Edwarde the thirde and Richarde the seconde. So that yt was a name of office or occupatione, whiche after came to be the surname

But this no more follows than that the John Chaucer who in 1301 was beaten and damagd to the tune of £3000, was Richard's father.

But it's certain that Chaucer's ancestors were foreigners, [* *leaf* 7] for *Chausier* is 'one who shueth or hoseth a man.'

An Elias Chaucer livd in Hen. III's & Edw. I's times, as a writ to the Treasury in 1272-3, to pay him 10*s.* for arrears of his pension of 1½*d.* a-day, shows.

So *Chaucer* is the name of a trade,

describd himself, in the Deed by which he releast his interest in his father's house in Thames Street in the City of London, as "Ego Galfridus Chaucer, filius Johannis Chaucer, Civis et Vinetarii Londonie." Richard was the grandfather.

[1] one

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[* *leaf* 7, *back*] like Smith, Baker, Butler, &c. are.

of a famelye, as did Smythe, *Baker, Porter, Bruer, Skynner, Cooke, Butler, and suche lyke: and that yt was a name of office, apperethe in the recordes of the towre, where yt is named Le Chaucer, beinge more annciente then anye other of those recordes; for in Dorso Clause of 10: H. 3, ys this: "Reginaldus mirifir*, et alicia uxor eius, attornaverun*t* Radulfu*m* le Chausier contra Joh*ann*em Le furber, et matildem vxorem eius, de uno messuagio in London." This Chaucer lyvinge also in the tyme of kinge Joh̃ñe. And thus this muche for the Antiquytye and significat*i*one of 'Chaucer', w*hi*che I canne prove in the tyme of Edwarde the 4. to signyfye also, in oure Englyshe tonge, bootes or highe shoes to the calfe of the legge: for thus hathe the Antique recordes of Domus Regni Anglie, ca. 53, for the messengers of the kinges howse to doo the king*es* com*m*anndementes: that they shalbe allowed for their Chauses[1] yerely iiijs. viijd: But what shall wee stande uppon the Antiquyte and gentry of Chaucer, when the rolle of Battle Abbeye affirmeth *hym to come in with the Conqueror.[2]

In the Close Roll of 10 Hen. III (Oct. 1225—Oct. 1226) a Ralph le Chaucer is mentiond,

and he livd also in King John's time (1199-1216).

In Edw. IV's days *chauses* meant boots up to the calf of the leg.

A Chaucer is on the Roll of Battle Abbey.

[* *leaf* 8]

Vnder the title of Chaucers countrye,[3] yow sett

Edward IV's Messengers

were allowd (food, 3d. a day, a mare a year for clothing, and) 4s. 8d. for *chauses*.

The Bp Confessor was allowd *Chawcers* for his grooms.

[1] printed 'chaunces' in the *Household Ordinances* (p. 48) publisht by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790. "MESSEAGERS, IIII, attending to this courte for the King, obeying the commaundmentes of the Chamberlayn, for the messages concernyng the King, or secretary, or ussher of the chambre; also the Steward and Thesaurer, for the honour and profit of houshold, if it require. These sitt togeder in the halle at theyr meles; and whyles they be present in courte, everyche of them taketh, by the cheker rolle, iii d. and every man for his clothing wynter and somer yerely, one maro; and eche for his *chaunces* iiii s. viii d." *Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV.* But on p. 29, the word is spelt "chawcers": "A BISSHOP CONFESSOUR . . . he kepeth in this courte 5 persones wayters now, but then [? in Edw. III's time] he had horse mete for his horses, clothing and *chawcers* for his groomes in sojourne."

[2] I suppose Thynne read 'Cauncy' on the Roll (according to Holinshed), 'Chaucy' or 'Coucy' (in Duchesne's Roll), 'Corcye' (in Leland's first Roll) or 'Chauncy' (in his second), as equivalent to Chaucy = Chaucer.

[3] No, not under the first title of 'His Country', but under

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downe that some Heraldes are of opynyone that he did not discende "of any great howse; whiche they gather by his armes." This ys a slender coniecture; for, as honorable howses, and of as greate Antiquytye, haue borne as meane armes as Chaucer; and yet Chaucers armes are not so meane, eyther for coolour, Chardge or particione as some will make them. And where yo^u^ saye, yt semethe lykelye, Chaucers skill in Geometrye considered, that he tooke the groundes and reasons of his armes oute of seuen twentye, & eight and twentye, propositiones of Euclide's first booke: that ys no inference that his armes were newe, or fyrst assumed by hym oute of Geometricall proportions, because he was skyllfull in Geometrye: for so yo^u^ maye saye of all the anncient armes of Englande whiche consyste not of anymalls or vegitalls; for [a]ll other armes whiche are not Anymalls and vegitalls,—as Cheuerons, pales, Bendes, Checkes, and suche lyke,—stande vppon geometricall proportiones: And therfore howe greate so euer their skyll bee, whiche attribute that choyse of armes to Chaucer, [they] had no moore skyll in armes then they needed.

2. You say some Heralds think Chaucer came of a mean house because his arms are mean. This is a poor guess.

And your notion that Chaucer took his arms out of the 27th and 28th propositions of Euclid, Book 1,

[a *leaf 8, back*]

shows that you've no more knowledge of arms than you need.

In the same title also, yo^u^ sett downe Quene Isabell, &c. and her sonne prince Edwarde, withe his newe maried wyfe, retourned oute of Henalte. In whiche are two imperfections. the first whereof ys, that his wyfe came oute of Henalte with the prince. but that is not soo, for the prince maryed her not before he came into England, since the prince was onlye slenderly contracted, and not maryed, to her before his arryvall in Englande, beinge two yeres and moore after that contracte, (betwene the erle of henalt

3. You say that Queen Isabella and her son Prince Edward, with his bride, Philippa of Hainault, came over to England together. Two mistakes.

1. The Prince didn't marry her abroad, before he came to England (in Jan. 1327),

the second, of 'His Parentage': "yet in the opinion of some Heralds (otherwise then his vertues and learning commended him) hee descended not of any great house, which they gather by his Armes, *De argento & rubeo colore partito per longitudinem scuti cum benda ex transverso, eisdem coloribus sed transmutatis depicta sub hac forma.*"—sign. b. ii.

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but after he came back, at the end of the 2nd year of his reign (1329) at York.

and his mother,) about the latter ende of the seconde yere of his reigne; thoughe others haue the fyrste, the solempnytye of that mariage beinge donne at Yorke.

[* *leaf* 9]

*besides, she came not ouer with Quene Isabell and the prince, but the prince sent for her afterwardes;

2. Philippa was sent for by Edw. III, as Harding says,

and so, I suppose, sayethe Hardinge in his Cronicle,[1] yf I do not mysconceve yt, not havinge the historye now in my handes. But whether he saye so or no, yt ys not materiall, because the recordes be playne, that he sent for her into Henalte in the seconde yere of his reigne in october,

and the Records show.

She came to Edw. III on Jan. 22, 1329.

and she came to the kinge the 23 of Januarye followinge, w*hic*he was aboute one daye before he beganne the thirde yere of his reigne, wherunto he entred the 25 of Januarye. and for prooffe of the tyme when, and whoome, the Kinge sente, and what they were allowed therefore, the pellis exitus of the Exchequier remayninge in master warders office

[1] Hardyng (p. 31, ed. 1812) puts it in Edward's third year, and relates how comically Philippa was chosen out of the five sisters inspected, on account of her large hips, by a Bishop (of Lichfield) of great experience with women:

In tender age and youthes intelligence,
In his third yere so of his hie regence,

Edward III's lords inspect 5 naked ladies, to choose one for queen;

¶ He sent furth then to Henauld, for a wife,
A bishop and other lordes temporall;
Wher, in chaumbre preuy and secretife,
Discouerit,[2] discheuely als in all, [2 At discouerit *orig.*]
As semyng was to estate virginall,—
Emong theim selfes our lordes, for hie prudence,
Of the bishop asked counsail and sentence,

and, by the Bishop's advice, select Philippa, for her large hips.

¶ 'Whiche daughter of fiue should bee the quene,'
Who counsailled thus with sad auisement:
"Wee will haue her with good hippis, I mene;
For she will bere good soonnes, at myne entent."
To which thei all accorded by one assent,
And chase Philip, that was full feminine,
As the bishop moost wise did determyne.

But the lords chaff the Bishop for his knowledge of women.

¶ But then emong theim selfes thei laugh fast ay:
The lordes then saied, 'the bishop couth
Full mekill skyll of a woman alwaye,
That so couth chese a lady that was vncouth.'
[And for ye mery wordes that came of his mouth,]
Thei trowed he had right great experience
Of womanes rule and hir conuenience.

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hathe thus sett downe in the ferthe daye of februarye "Bartholomeo de Burgershe nuper misso ad partes Douor ad obuiandum filiæ comitis Hannoniæ consorti ipsius Regis" &c. but this *recorde followinge is most pleyne, shewing bothe who went for her, the day when they tooke their yourneye towardes henalte, with de[1] daye when & where they presented her to the kinge after their retorne into Englande, and the daye one whiche they wer payed their charges, beinge the forthe of marche; one whiche daye yt is thus entred in the record*es* of pellis exitus, Michaell. 2. Ed. 3. "Rogero couentry &c Lichefeld episcopo, nuper misso in nuntium domini Regis ad partes Hannonie pro matrimonio inter dominum Regem et filiam comitis Hannoniæ contrahendo, ab octauo die octobris proxime preterito, quo die reessit de Notingham ipso domino Rege ibidem existente, arripiendo iter suum predictum versus partes predictos, vsque vicesimum tertium diem Januarii proximè sequentem, quo die rediit ad ipsum Regem predictum apud Eboracum in comitatiua filiæ comitis Hannoniæ predictæ, vtroque die computato, pro Cviij diebus, percipiendo per diem iij.li vj.s viij.d pro expensis suis." Thus muche the recorde, *whiche confirmethe that whiche I go aboute to prove: that she came not into Englande withe prince Edwarde, and that he was not maryed at that tyme; no, not contracted, but onlye by agremente betwene the erle and his mother.

Bartholomew de Burgersh was one of those sent for Philippa of He- [* *leaf* 9, *back*] nault.

And on March 4, 1329,

the Bp of Lichfield was paid for his journey in fetching her,

from Oct. 8, 1328,

to Jan. 23, 1329,

when he delivered her to Edw. III at York, £3 6s. 8d. a day.

[* *leaf* 10]

Thus I've shown you two mistakes.

Next yo[u] seme to implye by a coniecturall argumente, that Chaucers anncesters sholde be m*er*chant*es*, for that, in place where they haue dwelled, the armes of the marchantes of the staple haue bin seene in the glasse windowes. This ys a mere coniecture, and of no valydytye. for the m*er*chantes of the staple had not any armes granted to them (as I haue bin enformed) vntill longe after the deathe of Chaucers parentes, whiche was

4. Your conjecture (from merchants' arms in windows) that Chaucer's ancestors were merchants, is of no validity. [Yet they were vintners.]

[1] *MS. plainly* de

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aboute the 10 or 12 of Edwarde the thirde; and those merchantes had no armes before the tyme of Henrye the sixte, or muche what thereaboutes, as I dobt not but wilbe weⁿ proued, yf I be not mysenformed. But admytte the staplers had then armes, yt ys no argumente that chaucers anncesters were *merchantes because those armes were in the wyndowes; as yo^u shall well perceave, yf yo^u drawe yt into a syllogisme; and therefore yo^u did weⁿ to conclude, that yt was not materiaⁿ whether they were merchantes or noo.

The Merchants of the Staple had no arms till Henry VI's time.

[* *leaf* 10, *back*]

In the title of Chaucers educatione, yo^u saye that "Gower, in his booke entituled 'confessio amantis,' termethe Chaucer 'a worthye poet,' and maketh hym as yt were the iudge of his woorkes[1]": in whiche Booke, to my knowledge, Gower dothe not terme hym 'a woorthye poet' (althoughe I confesse he weⁿ deseruethe that name, & that the same may be gathered oute of Gower comendynge hym); nether dothe he after a sorte (for any thinge I canne yet see) make hym iudge of his Workes, (whereof I wolde be glad to be enformed,) since these be Gowers woordes, vttered by Venus in that booke of confessio Amantis:

5. You misquote Gower.

He doesn't call Chaucer 'a worthy poet'.

Nor does he make Chaucer judge of his works.

He says Venus bade him greet Chaucer,

[* *leaf* 11]

> And grete well Chaucer when ye mete,
> as my disciple and my poet:
> *for, in the flowere of his youthe,
> In sondrye wise, as he well couthe,
> of dytyes and of songes glade—
> the whiche for my sake he made,—
> the lande fulfilled is ouer all:
> Wherefore to hym in especiall
> aboue all others I am most holde;
> for-thy nowe in his dayes olde
> thow shalt hym tell this message,
> 'that he vppon his latter age
> sett an ende of all his werke,
> as he whiche is myne owne clerke,
> do make his 'testament of Love,'
> as thow hast donne thy shrift ab[o]ue,
> so that my Courte yt may recorde,' &c.

and tell that poet, in his old age

to write his 'Testament of Love'.

[1] *Speght*, sign. b. iii: "This Gower in his booke which is intituled *Confessio Amantis*, termeth Chaucer a worthie Poet, and maketh him as it were, the Iudge of his workes."

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These be all the verses whiche I knowe, or yet canne fynde, in whiche Gower in that booke mentionethe Chaucer, where he nether namethe hym worthye poet, nor after a sorte submyttethe his woorkes to his iudgmente. But quite contrarye, Chaucer dothe submytte the *Correctione of his woorkes to Gower in these playne woordes, in the latter ende of the fyfte[1] booke of Troylus:

So far from Gower submitting his works to Chaucer,

Chaucer submits his to Gower. [* *leaf* 11, *back*]

> O Morall Gower! this booke I directe
> to the, and the philosophicall stroode,
> to vouche-safe, where nede is, to correcte,
> of youre benignityes & zeales good.

But this error had in you byn pardoned, yf yo^u^ had not sett yt downe as your owne, but warranted with the auctoryte of Bale in 'Scriptoribus Anglie,' from whence yo^u^ haue swallowed yt. Then, in a marginall note of this title, yo^u^ saye agayne oute of Bale, that Gower was a Yorkeshire manne;[2] but yo^u^ are not to be touched therfore; because yo^u^ discharge your selfe in vouchinge your auctor. Wherfore Bale hath muche mistaken yt, as he hath donne infynyte thinges in that Booke 'de scriptoribus Anglie,' beinge for the most parte the collections of Lelande. for in truth *the* armes of this Sir Johne Gower, beinge argent, one a cheuerone azure, three leopardes heddes or, do *prove that he came of a contrarye howse to the Gowers of Stytenhame in Yorke-shyre, who bare barrulye of argent & gules, a crosse patye florye sable. Whiche difference of armes semethe a difference of famelyes, vnleste yo^u^ canne prove that, beinge of one howse, they altered their armes vppone somme iuste occasione, as that soome of the howse maryinge one heyre, did leave his owne armes, and bare the armes of his moother; as was accustoomed in tymes paste. But this difference

This error is Bale's, and you swallowd it.

6. You copy another mistake of Bale's, that Gower was a Yorkshireman.

For the arms of Sir John Gower show that [* *leaf* 12]

Gower the poet was not of the Gowers (or Gores) of Stittenham.

[1] Corrected from 'firste.'

[2] "Iohn Gower, a Yorkshire man borne, & a knight, as Bale writeth."—*Speght*, sign. b. iii.

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of Cootes, for this cause, or anye other, (that I colde yet euer lerne,) shall yo^{u} not fynde in this famelye of Gower: and therefore seuerall howses from the fyrste originall. Then the marginall note goethe further oute of Bale, that Gower had "one his hedde a garlande of Ivye and rooses, the one the ornamente of a knyghte, the other of a poet."[1] But Bale ys mystaken; for yt ys not a Garlande, vnlest yo^{u} will metaphoricallye call euerye cyrcle of the hedde a *garlande, as Crownes are sometymes called garlandes, from whence they had their originall. nether ys yt of Ivye, as anye manne whiche seethe yt may well iudge, and therefore not there sett for anye suche intente as one ensigne of his poetrye, But ys symplye a chapplett of Roses, Suche as the knyghtes in olde tyme vsed, ether of golde, or other embroderye made after the fasshone of Rooses, one of the peculier ornamentes of a knighte, as well as his coller of SSS, his guilte swoorde, and spurres. Whiche chaplett or cyrcle of Rooses was as well attributed to knightes, the lowest degree of honor, as to the hygher degrees of Duke, Erle, &c. beinge knyghtes; for so I haue seene Johne of Gaunte, pictured in his chaplette of Rooses; and kinge Edwarde the thirde gaue his chaplett to Eustace Rybamonte; only the difference was, that as they were of lower degree, so had the[y] fewer Rooses placed one their Chaplett or cyrcle of golde, one *ornament deduced frome the Dukes crowne whiche had thee rooses vppon the toppe of the cyrcle, when the knighte had them onlye vppon the cyrcle or garlande yt-selfe. of whiche dukes crowne to be adorned with litle Rooses, Mathewe Paris, speakinge of the

A third mistake you copy from Bale, that Gower's garland of ivy and roses was for his knighthood, and his poetry.

For 1. it wasn't a garland; [* *leaf* 12, *back*]

2. it had no ivy in it;

3. it was simply a Chaplet of Roses, such as knights of old wore.

This Chaplet of Roses was worn also by Dukes, Earls, &c. who were knights,

[* *leaf* 13] the Dukes having roses on the top of the chaplet, the knights only on the band,

[1] "Hee [Gower] lyeth buried in Saint Mary Oueries in Southwarke, with his image lying ouer him in a habite of purple damaske downe to his feete: a collar of esses gold about his necke, and on his head a garland of yvie and roses, the one being the ornament of a knight, and the other of a Poet."—*Speght*, ed. 1598, sign. b. iii.

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creatinge of Johñe erle Mortone, duke of Normandye, in the yere of Christe 1199, dothe saye "Interim comes Johannes Rothomagum veniens in octavis paschę, gladio ducatus Normaniæ cinctus est, in matrice ecclesia, per ministerium Walteri Rothomagensis Archiepiscopi, vbi Archiepiscopus memoratus ante maius altare in capite eius posuit Circulum aureum, habentem in summitate per gyrum rosulas aureas artificialiter fabricatas," whiche chaplett of Rooses came in the ende to be a bande aboute oure cappes, sette with golde Buttons, as may be supposed. In the same title yo[u] saye, "yt semethe that these lerned menne were of the Inner Temple, for that, manye yeres since, master Buckley did see a recorde in the same howse, where Geffrye Chaucer was fined two shillinges for beatinge a Franciscane Fryer in fletestreate.[1]" This is a harde collect[i]one, to prove Gower of the Inner Temple, althoughe he studyed the lawe. for thus yo[u] frame your argumente. 'Mr Buckley founde a recorde in the Temple that Chaucer was fyned for beatinge the fryer, Ergo Gower and Chaucer were of the Temple.' But for myne owne parte, yf I wolde stande vppon termes for matter of Antiquytye, and ransacke the originall of the lawiers fyrst settlinge in the Temple, I dobte whether Chaucer were of the temple or noe, vnlest yt were towardes his latter tyme, for he was one olde manne,—as apperethe by Gowere in Confessione amantis—in the xvi yere of R. 2:[2] when Gower wroote that Booke. And yt is most certeyne to be gathered by cyrcumstances of Rercordes, that the lawyers were not in the temple vntill towardes the latter parte of the

as you'll see in the knighting of Earl Morton of Normandy.

7. You've the odd argument, that because the Temple Records are said to have noted that [* *leaf* 13, *back*]

Chaucer beat a Franciscan Friar,

therefore Gower belongd to the Temple, as well as Chaucer.

Now I doubt whether Chaucer ever belongd to the Temple. He was old in 1392-3,

and the lawyers were not in the Temple till the latter part of Edward III's reign. (Died 21 June 1377.)

[1] It seemeth that both these learned men [Chaucer and Gower] were of the inner Temple: for, not many yeeres since, Master *Buckley* did see a Record in the same house, where *Geoffrey Chaucer* was fined two shillings for beating a Franciscane fryer in Fleetstreete."—*Speght*, sign. b. iii.

[2] 22 June 1392, to 21 June 1393, Chaucer being 52 or 53.

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[* *leaf* 14] reygne *of kinge Edwarde the thirde; at *whi*che tyme Chaucer was a grave manne, holden in greate credyt, and employed in embassye[1]; so that me thinkethe he sholde not be of that howse; and yet, yf he then were, I sholde iudge yt strange that he sholde violate the rules of peace and gravytye yn those yeares[2]. But I will passe ouer all those matters scito pede, and leave euerye manne to his owne iudgemente therein for this tyme.

Chaucer was then a grave man, employd in embassy,

and not likely to break the peace.

8. You do not know the name of Chaucer's wife [Philippa]; nor do I.

In the title of Chawcers mariage, yo[u] saye yo[u] cannotte fynde[3] the name of the Gentlewomanne whome he maryed. Trulye, yf I did followe the conceyte of others, I sholde suppose her name was Elizabethe, a waytinge womanne of Quene philippe, wyfe to Edwarde the thirde, & daughter to Will*iam* erle of Henalte. but I fauor not their oppynyone. for, althoughe I fynde a recorde of the pellis exitus, in the tyme of Edwarde the thirde, of a yerely stypende to Elizabethe Chawcer, 'Domicelle regine Philippe,' w*hi*che Domicella *dothe signyfye one of her weytinge gentlewomen: Yet I cannott for this tyme thinke this was his wyfe, but rather his sister or kineswomanne, who, after the deathe of her mystresse Quene philippe, did forsake the worlde and became a nonne at Seinte Heleins in london, accordinge as yo[u] haue touched one of that profess*i*one in primo of kinge Richarde the seconde.

For though some think it was Elizabeth, a waiting-woman to Queen Philippa,

who had a grant of a yearly stipend, [* *leaf* 14, *back*]

yet I believe this was Chaucer's sister or kineswoman,

who became a nun at St Helen's, London.

[1] Chaucer's embassy to Genoa and Florence was from 1 Dec. 1372 to 23 May 1373; that to Paris and Montreuil from 17 Feb. to 25 March 1377; that to Flanders (or France) from 30 April to 26 June 1377; that to Milan and Lombardy from 28 May to 19 Sept. 1378.

[2] Yet his *raptus* of Cecilia Chaumpaigne is compromised on 1 May 1380.

[3] "This gentlewoman, whome hee married (whose name we can not finde)"—*Speght*, sign. b. iii, back. But it is given as Philippa in the Duke of Lancaster's warrant of 13 June 1374, giving Chaucer £10 a year for life, for the good service of him and his wife Philippa; and in the Issue Rolls, Easter 1381 and 1387, "*Philippæ* Chauser . . per manus predicti Galfridi. mariti sui," "*Philippe* Chaucer . . per manus dicti Galfridi" (Nicolas; *C.'s Works*, ed. R. Morris, i. 19, 109).

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In the Latyne stemme of Chawcer yo^{u} saye, speakinge of Katherine Swyneforde, "Que postea nupta Johanni Gandauensi, tertii Edwardi Regis filio, Lancastrie duci, illi procreavit filios tres & vnic*am* filia*m*."[1] Wherbye we may inferre that Iohne of Gaunte had these childrene by her after the mariage: Whiche is not soo; for he had all his children by her longe before that mariage, so that they, beinge all illegitmate, were enforced afterwarde vppon that maryage to be legytymated by the poope, & also by acte of Parliamente,[2] aboute the two & twentythe of kinge Richarde the seconde; *so that yo^{u} cannott saye, 'que postea nupta procreavit Lancastriæ duci tres filios,' &c.

9. You seem to say that Katherine Swynford's children by John of Gaunt were born after marriage.

But her children were born long before marriage, and on it legitimated.

[* *leaf* 15]

In the title of Chawcers children and their advancemente, in a marginall noote yo^{u} vouche master Campdene, that Bartholmewe Burgershe, knyghte of the Garter, was he from whome the Burgershes, whose daughter & heyre was maryed to Thomas Chawcer,[3] did descende. But that is also one error*ur*.* for this Bartholmewe was of a collaterall lyne to that Sir Iohne Burgershe, the father of Mawde, wyfe to Thomas Chawcer; and therefore colde not that Sir Iohne Burghershe be descended of this Barthelmewe Burgershe, though hee were of that howse. Then in that title, yo^{u} vouche oute of m^{r}. Campdene, that Serlo de Burgo, brother to Eustachius de Vescye, builte Knaresborowe Castle. but that ys not righte: for this Serlo, beinge called 'Serlo de Burgo siue de Pembroke', was brother to Iohne, father to Eustace Vescye as haue the recordes of the towre, and so vncle, and not brother, to Eustace. *for one other marginall noote in that tytle,

10. You say that Thomas Chaucer's wife was descended from Bartholomew Burgersh.

This is an error.

11. You also say that Serlo de Burgo was brother to Eustace de Vesey.

This is not right.

He was uncle.

[*leaf* 15, *back*]

[1] Speght, leaf b, 4, with slight variations in the spelling.

[2] That is, by Richard II's Charter, read to the Parliament, and thus getting the force of an Act: see Appendix.

[3] There is no evidence that he was in any way related to Chaucer. The strong presumption is that he was not. See my letter in *Notes & Queries*, 4th Ser. ix. 381; 437, col. 2; 494.

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12. You say that Jane of Navarre marri'd Henry IV, in the 4th year of his reign.

But Walsingham says it was in the 5th year; Jan. 26, 1403-4.

yo^{u} saye, that Iane of Navarre was maryed to Henrye the forthe in the fourthe yere of his reygne, wherein yo^{u} followe a late inglishe cronicler whome I forbeare to name.[1] But Walsingham, bothe in his historye of Henry the fourthe, & in his ypodigma, sayethe that she was maryed the 26 of Ianuarye, in the yere of *Christe* 1403, whiche was in the fyfte yere of the kinge,[2] yf yo^{u} begynne the yere of oure lorde at the annuntiatione of the Virgine, as we nowe doo; but this is no matter of great momente.

13. You say the advancement of the de la Pooles was due to William de la Poole, who lent the King money; but William was not the first that did so.

His father Richard lent Edward III money,

and was made his Butler.

ffourthlye, in that title yo^{u} seme to attribute the advancemente of the Pooles to Williame de la poole, merchante of Hull, that lente the kinge a greate masse of moneye. But this Williame was not the fyrste advancer of that howse, because his father Richarde at Poole, beinge a cheife gouernor in huⱡ, and serving the kinges necessytye with money, was made Pincerna Regis, one office of great accompte; by the same, gyvinge the fyrste advancemente to the succedynge famelye. Whereof the Recorde to prove Richard de la Poole pincerna Regis, is founde in the pryvye seales of the eleventhe yere of kinge Edwarde the thirde, in Master Wardoures office, the lorde Treasurers clerke, Where yt is in this manner: "Edwardus, dei gratia Rex Angliæ et dux Acquitaniæ, &c. Supplicavit nobis Dilectus noster Richardus de la Poole, Pincerna noster, vt quum ipse de expensis officii Pincernariæ ac omnibus aliis officiis illud tangentibus, ad dictum Scaccarium a festo sancti michaelis anno regni

[* *leaf* 16]

On Dec. 14, 1337, Edw. III, by writ of privy seal,

orderd payment to Richard de la Poole, his Butler,

1403. King Henry married the Lady Ioane de Nauarre.

[1] "The messengers that had bin sent for *Ioan*, late wife to *Iohn* of Mountford, Duke of Brytanie, returned with her into England, and landed at Falmouth in Cornewall. The king met with her at Winchester the 7. of February, where they were married in the Church of S. *Swithen*."—*Stowe's Chronicle.*

[2] The fifth year of Henry IV was from 30 Sept. 1403 to 29 Sept. 1404. Halle makes Henry IV marry Jane, widow of John Duke of Britanny, in the 2nd year of his reign (Sept. 1400 to Sept. 1401), and says that Katherine Swynford (John of Gaunt's third wife) died in the same year.

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nostri decimo, vsque ad idem festum proxime sequens plenarie computaverit, et 2090li: 13s: et 11d et vnus obulus sibi per computum illud de claro debeatur: Volumus ei solutionem inde, seu aliàs satisfactionem sibi fieri competentem: Nos eius supplicationi in hac parte, prout iustum est, annuentes, vobis mandamus, etc. Datum apud Westmonasterium, 14 Decembris, anno regni nostri Vndecimo." To whose sonne this Williame de la Poole the older, and to his sonne Michaell de la Poole (who was after Channcelor), and to his heyres, *the kinge grannted fowre hundred markes by yere oute of the custome of Hull, as apperethe in the recorde of pellis exitus of 46 Ed. 3., the same Michaell de lapoole recevinge the arrerages of that Annuytye; for thus yt is entred in Michaelmas terme one the fyrste of December of that yere: "Michaeli de lapoole, filio et heredi Willielmi de la poole senioris, per Talliam levatam isto die, continentem iijc lxxli xviijs 1d ob. eidem michaeli liberat per compotum suum factum ad Scaccarium computatoris, virtute cuiusdam breuis de magno sigillo, Thesaurario et Baronibus Scaccarii directum pro huius compoto faciendo, de quodam annuo certo iiijc marcas per annum, quas dominus Rex Willielmo de la Poole seniori defuncto, et michaeli filio suo, et heredibus sius de corpore suo exeuntibus, de Custuma in portis ville de kingeston super Hull per litteras suas patentes concessas percipiendum quamdiu vijc xxxvli xviijs id ob. eidem Michaeli per compotum predictum sic debitum, &c. Dominus Rex mandat vt ei satis*factionem vel assignationem competentem (in locis vbi ei celeriter satisfieri poterit) fieret et haberet, per brevem de magno sigillo inter mandata de termino Paschæ anno quadragesimo tercio," &c. So that Richarde, Michaell de la Pooles grandfather, (a marchante of greate welthe in Hull,) was the fyrste that gaue advancemente to that howse: although Williame,

of £2090 13s. 11½d. due to him.

To Richard de la Poole's son William, and grandson Michael,

[* *leaf* 16, *back*]

Edw. III granted 400 marks a year. And Michael was to receive for the arrears of this annuity, on Dec. 1, 1372,

£735 18s. 1½d.

[* *leaf* 17]

Thus, Richard, the grandfather, was the first advancer of the De la Pooles.

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father to this michaell, were of lyke estate, and a knyghte. nether canne I fynde (nor ys yt lyke) that michaell de la poole was a marchante, (havinge two such welthy marchantes to his ancestors before hym,) notwithstandinge that Walsingham (moore offended then reasone, as all the Clergye were, against temporall menne who were nowe become chief officers of the Realme; and the spyrituall menne, till then possessinge those offices, displaced, which bredd greate Sorseye in the [1]Churche menne againste them;) sayethe that michaell de la poole "fuerit à pueritia magis mercimoniis (vtpote Mercator Mercatoris filius) quam militia occupatus." And yet yt *may bee that he mighte have some factors in merchandise, and deale by his attorneyes, as manye noble menne and great persons have donne, whereuppone Walsingham (which wroote longe after) mighte seme to call hym 'merchante' by reasone of othere[2] mens dealinges for hym, althoughe in troothe he was neuer merchant in respecte of his owne persone (for whiche they are properly called merchantes,) as may be supposed. ffyftlye, in the same title yo[u] saye, that Alice, wyfe of Williame de la poole duke of Suffolke, "had a daughter by her seconde husbande, thomas montague, erle of Sarisberye,—named after her mother, Alice,—maryed to Richarde Neville, sonne to Raphe Neuill, erle of Westmerlande, by whome he had issue, Richarde, Iohne, and George.[3] But this is nothinge so. for this Alice, the wyfe of Richarde Neuille, (erle of Sarisbery in the righte of the same Alice,) was daughter of Thomas Monntacute, erle of Salisburye, *and of Alice his wyfe, daughter of Thomas Hollande erle of Kente, and not of Alice, daughter to Thomas Chawcer, and widowe to Williame de la Poole duke of Suffolke.

Nor do I think that Michael de la Poole was a merchant, though Walsingham makes him so.

(The clergy were offended that the temporal men were found as wise as themselves.)

[* *leaf* 17, *back*] Also, Michael de la Poole might have been a merchant by Attorney; and that is no true merchant.

14. You say, Alice, the wife of Richard Neville, was daughter of Thomas Chaucer's daughter Alice (once Duchess of Suffolk).

But no: she was daughter of Thomas Montacute,

[* *leaf* 18] and Alice, daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent.

[1] MS. has S *for* C. [2] MS. others.
[3] Speght, leaf b, 5, back, at foot, with differences in spelling.

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In the latter end of the title of Chawcers deathe yo^{u} saye, that printinge was brought "oute of Germanye in the yere 1471, being the 37. H. 6., into Englande, beinge fyrst founde at Magunce by one Iohne Cuthembergus, and broughte to Roome by Conradus, one Almayne."[1] But the yere of Christe 1471 was not the 37. H. 6. but the eleuenthe of kinge Edward the fourthe; and [printinge,] as some have yt, was not fyrste founde at Magonce or mentz, but at Strasborowe, and perfected at Magonce. David Chytreus in his historye sayethe, yt was fyrst founde in anno 1440, and broughte to Rome by Henricus Han,[2] a germane, in the yere 1470; whereof Antonius Campanus framed this excellente epigrame:

15. You say printing was brought into England in 37 Hen. 6, 1471; and was invented at Ments.

But 1471 A.D. was 11 Edw. IV.

And Printing, some say, was invented at Strassburg in 1440.

Anser Tarpeii custos Jovis, vnde quod alis
Constreperis, Gallus recidit, vlter adest
Vlricus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in vsum
Edocuit pennis, nil opus esse tuis.

[*leaf* 18, *back*]

But others do suppose that yt was invented at Argenterote, as dothe mathewe Parker, in the lyfe of Thomas Burchier Archbyshoppe of Canterburye: whiche, for the incertentye thereof, I leave at this tyme to farther examinatione, not havinge nowe presente leysure therefore.

Others say at Argenterote.

[*III. Speght's mistakes as to the 'Roman de la Rose,' and Chaucer's 'Dreme' or 'Dethe of Blaunche the Duchesse.'*]

In the title of the argumente to euerye tale and booke yo write, that the Romante of the Roose was made in frenche by Iohne Clopinell, alias Iohne Moone,[3] when in truthe the booke was not made by hym alone; for yt was begonne by Guilliame de Loris, and fynished

III. 1. You say the Romant of the Rose was written by Jean de Meun.

Whereas it was begun by Guillaume de Loris,

[1] Speght, sign. § c. ii. back: "This William Caxton of London, Mercer, brought printing out of Germany," &c.

[2] "Hahn,"—German, a cock. "Cognomine Latino *Gallus*," Maittaire, *Ann. Typ.* i. 52.—G. H. K.

[3] Speght, leaf c, 5, at foot.

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and finisht only by Jean de Meun.

fourtye yeres after the deathe of Loris, by Iohñe de Meune, alias Iohñe Clopinell, as apperethe by Molinet, the frenche auctor of the moralytye vppon the Romante of the roose, ca. 50: fo. 57: and may further appere also in the frenche Romante of the Roose in verse, with Chawcer,[1] with muche of that matter omytted, *not havinge translated halfe the frenche Romante, but ended aboute the middle thereof. Againste whiche Booke, Gersone compiled one other, intituled 'Le reprobat*ione* de la Romante del Roose,' as affirmethe the sayed molinett, in the 107 chapter of the sayed moralizat*ione*, where he excusethe Clopinell, and reprouethe Gersone, for that Booke, because Gerson soughte no further meanynge then what was conteyned in the outewarde letter, This Clopinell begynnynge the Romante of the Roose, in these verses of Chaucer:

Chaucer didn't translate half the [* *leaf* 19] French *Roman de la Rose.*

Gerson wrote a *Reprobation* of it.

> Alas my wane-hoope! nay, pardyee,
> for I will neuer dispayred bee,
> yf happe me fayle; then am I
> vngratious and vnworthy, &c.

2. You say 'the Dream of Chaucer' is 'the Book, or Death, of the Duchess': But it can't be, because when Blanche died, John of Gaunt was only 24.

Secondlye, vnder that title yo[u] saye, the woorke, before this last edit*ione* of Chaucer termed 'the Dreame of Chaucer,' is mystermed,[2] and that yt is 'the Booke of the Duches, or the Deathe of Blanche.'[3] wherein yo[u] bee greatlye mysledde, in my conceyte; for yt cannott bee 'the booke of the Dutches, or of the deathe of Blanche,' because Iohne of Gaunte *was then but fowre and twentye yere olde when the same was made, as apperethe by that tretyse, in these verses:

[* *leaf* 19, *back*]

[1] ? *for* which Chaucer englisht.

[2] William Thynne, who first printed 'The Dethe of Blaunche,' calld it 'The dreame of Chaucer,' because Chaucer tells the poem as a dream. The booksellers' reprint of ab. 1550 gives it the same title, and so does Stowe in his edition of 1561 in the body of the book; but in his 'Table of all the names of the workes contei-teigned in this volume,' he calls the poem 'The dreame of Chaucer, otherwise called the boke of the Duches, or Seis and Alcione.'

[3] "The booke of the Duchesse, or the death of Blanch, mistermed heretofore [by Wm Thynne, John Stowe, &c.], Chaucers Dreame."—*Speght*, leaf c, 5, back, ed. 1598.

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Then founde I sytt[inge 1] euen vprighte
A wonder well faringe knighte,
By the manner me thought so,
Of good mokell,[2] & right yonge therto,
Of the age of twentye fowre[3] yere;
Vppon his bearde but little heare.

Then, yf he were but fowre and twentye yeres of age, beinge born, as hathe Walsingha*m*, in the yere of *Christ*e 1339, the 13 of kinge Edwarde the thirde; and that he was maryed to Blanche,[4] the fourtene Calendes of June 1359, the 33 of Ed: the thirde, he was at this mariage but twentye yeres of age; who, within fower yeres after, sholde make his lamentac*i*one for Blanche the duchesse, whiche muste be then dedde. But the duchesse Blanche dyed of the pestilence in the yere of *Christ*e 1368,—as hathe Anonimus M:S:—or 1369, as hath Walsinghame, w*hi*che by the first *accompte was the ix, and by the last the x, yere after the mariage, and sixe, or at the leste v yeres, after this lamentat*i*one of Iohne of Gaunte, made in the fowre and twentye yere of his age. Wherfor this cannott be 'the booke of the Duches,' because he colde not lamente her deathe before she was deade.[5] And yf yo^u^ replye that yt pleinlye

John of Gaunt was born in 1339;

was 20 when he married;

and his wife Blanche died in 1368 or 1369,

[* *leaf* 20]

and therefore 5 or 6 years after the griever of 24 in Chaucer's poem, lamented his wife's death.

[1] sytte.—*Thynne*, 1542.
[2] *mokell*, bignes.—*Speght's* Glossary.
[3] foure and twenty.—*Thynne*, 1542.
[4] And in the yere of Christ a M wryten,
Thre hundreth also, syxtye and one,
The .ii. pestylence reigned, as was weten;
Duke Henry dyed, for whome was mekyll mone.
Dame Blaunche his doughter, full faire of fleshe and bone,
His heire was then; whom Iohn of Gau*n*t did wed;
The duchy [by hir] had: men saied he had well sped.
Hardyng's Chron. The .C.lxxxiiiii. Chapiter, p. 330, ed. 1812. There is a MS. of this Chronicle in *Lansd.* 200.

[5] Francis Thynne's argument is of course a strong one, if the existing MSS.—of which we have only two left—and Wm Thynne's MS. really have the age which Chaucer wrote. But the rhythm shows that 'twenty fowre' was not written at length, as the beat wants 'foure and twenty.' 'xxviiij,' as Mr Brock suggests, or 'xxix,' was no doubt written by Chaucer; this was copied 'xxiiij,' or 'xxiv,' printed 'twenty fowre,' and hence the confusion arose. 'Nine and twenty' must be the true reading. See my *Trial-Forewords*, p. 37.

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apperethe the same treatyce to be mente of the duches Blanche, whiche signyfyethe 'whyte,' by whiche name he often termethe his ladye there lamented, but especiallye in these verses,

Her throte, as I haue memoyre,[1]
semed as a rounde towr of yuoire,
of good gretnesse, and not to greate;
and fayre 'white' she hete;
that was my ladies name righte:
she was thereto fayre & brighte;
she had not her name wronge;
right fayre sholders, and body longe, &c.

And tho' the Lady was calld 'fair white,'

[* *leaf* 20, *back*] I will answere, that there is no necessytye *that yt muste be of Blanche the duchesse, because he sayethe her name was 'white,' since there ys a famelye of that denominatione; and some female of that lyne mighte be both 'white' in name, and 'fayre and white'[2] in personne; and so 'had not her name wronge,' or in veyne, as Chaucer sayethe. or yt mighte be somme other louer of his called 'Blanche,' since he had manye paramou's in his youthe, and was not verye contynente in his age. Wherefore, to conclude, yt apperethe as before, that yt colde not be mente of the Duchesse Blanche his wyfe, whiche dyed longe after that compleinte. for whiche cause, that 'Dreame of Chaucer,' in mye opynyone, may well (naye, rather of righte sholde,) contynewe his former title of 'thee Dreame of Chaucer.' for that whiche yo[u] will haue 'the Dreame of Chaucer,' is his 'Temple of Glasse,' as I haue seene[3] the title thereof noted, and the thinge yt selfe confirmethe.

she need not have been the Duchess Blanche,

for there's a family nam'd White, and one Miss White might have been fair.

Or this fair might have been one of John of Gaunt's paramours.

So this poem could not be meant for the Duchess.

Besides, the poem you call the '*Dreme*' is Chaucer's *Temple of Glass*.

[1] now memoire.—*Thynne*, 1542.

[2] ? brighte (of l. 6 above), or 'fayre white' of l. 4.

[3] Francis Thynne had no doubt seen the copy belonging to Sir John Thynne, still preserved at Longleat, and now the only MS. known. It is there entitled 'Chaucer's Temple of Glasse.' The handwriting is of Edward the Sixth's time (1547-53).—H. Bradshaw. (Mr Bradshaw long ago pointed out that this *Dreme* or *Isle of Ladies* (beginning 'When Flora, the quene of plesaunce') was spurious.)

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[*IV. Speght's Mistakes in explaining some of Chaucer's Words.*]

[* *leaf* 21] You've shown great diligence in explaining Chaucer's old words,

*In the expositione of[1] the olde wordes, as yo^u shewe greate diligence and knowledge, so yet in my opynione, vnleste a manne be a good saxoniste, frenche, and Italyane linguiste, (from whence Chaucer hathe borowed manye woordes,) he cannott well expounde the same to oure nowe vnderstandinge, and therefore (thoughe I will not presume of muche knowledge in these tounges) yt semethe yet to mee, that in your expositione soome woordes are not so fullye and rightlye explaned as they myghte bee, althoughe peradventure yo^u haue framed them to make sence. Wherefore I haue collected these fewe (from many others lefte for moore leysure) whiche seme to mee not to be fully explaned in their proper nature, thoughe peradventure yo^u will seme to excuse them by a metaphoricall glosse.

but you've made mistakes about some, of which I'll name a few:

'Aketon or Haketone' yo^u expounde "a Iackett *w*ithoute sleves,"[2] withoute any further addit*i*one, that beinge one indiffynyte speache, and *therefore may be entended a comone garme*n*te daylye vsed, suche as we call a Ierken or Iackett *w*ithoute sleues: But 'haketon' is a slevelesse Iackett of plate for the warre, couered withe anye other stuffe; at this day also called a 'Iackett of plate:' suche 'Aketon,' Walter Stapletone, Bishoppe of Excester, and Custos or Wardeine of Londone, had vppon hym) secretlye, when he was apprehended and behedded in the twentythe yere of Edwarde the seconde.

1 *a.* *Aketon* is not only a Sleeveless jacket,

[* *leaf* 21, *back*]

but one coverd with plate for war.

'Besante' yo^u expounde a 'duckett:'[3] But a duc-

1 *b.* A *besant* is not a ducket,

[1] MS. of of

[2] *haketon*, a iacket without sleeues.—*Speght*, 1598, sign. Aaaa iii, back. In ed. 1602, it is still 'haketon, *f.* a Iacket without sleues.'

[3] '*besant* a ducket.'—*Speght*, 1598; but in ed. 1602 '*Besant*,

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kett ys farre from a besante, bothe for the tyme of the inventione, and for the forme; and, as I suppose, for the valewe, not withstandinge that Hollybande, in his frenche-Englishe dictionarye, make yt of the valewe of a duckett,[1] whiche duckett is for the most part eyther venetiane or spanyshe, when the Besante ys mere Grekishe; a coyne well knowen and vsed in Englande (and yet not therefore one anncient coyne of Englande, as Hollybande sayethe yt was *of france,) emongest the Saxons before, and the Normans after, the Conqueste, the forme whereof I will at other tyme describe, onlye nowe settinge downe, that this besante (beinge the frenche name, and in armorye rightlye, accordinge to his nature, taken for a plate of golde,) was called in Latine 'Byzantium,' obteyninge that name because yt was the coyne of Constantinople, sometyme called Bizantium. And because yo^{u} shall not thinke this anye fixione of myne owne, I will warrante the same with Williame of Malmesberye in the fourthe booke 'De Regibus,' who hathe these woordes: "Constantinopolis primum Bizantium dicta, formam antiqui vocabuli preferunt imperatorii nummi Bizantium dicta;" where one other coppye, for "nummi Bizantium" hath "Bizantini nummi;" and the frenche hathe yt 'besante' or 'Bezantine,' makinge yt one olde coyne of france, (when he sholde haue sayed one olde coyne in France, and not of France,) of the valewe of a duckette.

but a Greek coin

[* *leaf* 22]

us'd in (Constantinople or) Byzantium.

[* *leaf* 22, *back*] 2. *Fermentacione* is not 'dawbing,' even metaphorically,

*'Fermentacione' yo^{u} expounde 'Dawbinge,'[2] whiche cannott anye waye be metaphoricallye so vsed in Chaucer, althoughe yt sholde be improperlye or harsely ap-

g. A Greekish coyne called Bizantium, as William Malmesburi sayth, because it was the coyne of Constantinople, sometime called Bizantium.'

[1] *Besant*, or *Byzantin*, an ancient peece of golde of Faunce, worth a Ducket: *m.*—Cl. Hollyband's *Dictionarie, French and English*, 1593.

[2] '*fermentation*, dawbing.'—*Speght*, 1598; but in ed. 1602 '*fermentation*, *l.* giuing life to the Philosophers stone.'

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plied. For fermentac*i*one ys a peculier terme of Alchymye, deduced from the bakers fermente or levyne. And therefore the Chimicall philosophers defyne the fermente to bee 'anim*a*m,' the sowle or lyfe of the philosophers stoone. Whereunto agreethe Clauiger[1] Bincing, one Chimicall author, sayinge, "ante viuificationem, id est, fermentac*i*onem," w*hi*che is before tinctinge, or gyvinge tincture or cooler; that beinge as muche to saye, as gyvinge sowle or lyfe to the philosophers stoone, wherby that may fermente, or coolo*u*r, or gyue lyfe to, aⱡ other metaline bodyes.

but is a term of Alchemy.

Ferment is the soul of the Philosopher's Stone.

'Orfrayes' yo*u* expounde 'Goldsmythes Worke'[2] w*hi*che ys as nere to goldsmythes woorke as 'clothe of golde;' for this worde 'orefrayes,' beinge compounded of the frenche worde (or) and (frayes, or fryse,) the englishe is that, w*hi*che to this daye (beinge now made all of one stuffe or sub'stance) is called 'frised or perled cloothe of gold;' in latyne, in tymes past, termed 'aurifrisium' or 'aurifrixori*u*m.' A thinge well knowen to the Saxons in Englande before, as to the Normans after, the conqueste, and therfore fullye to satisfye yo*u* thereof, I wiⱡ produce twoo Auctors of the weavinge and vse thereof, before the conquest and since, wherin yo*u* shaⱡ pleynely see what yt was, and in what accompt yt was holden, beinge a worke peculier to the Englishe. The lieger booke of Elye, speakinge of Ediswitha, daughter to Brightnothus, aldermanne, erle,

3. *Orfrayes* is not Goldsmith's work,

[* *leaf* 23] but frysed cloth of gold,

a manufacture peculiar to the English,

as the Lieger Book of Ely,

[1] or 'Claugor' or 'Clangor.'

[2] *orfrayes*, goldsmiths worke.—*Speght*, 1598; but in ed. 1602, "*Orfrayes*, (fol. 113, p. 1.) *Aurifrisium* frisled cloth of gold, made & vsed in England both before & since the Conquest, worne booth by the Cleargie, and the Kings themselues, As may appeare out of *Mathew Paris*, where he speaketh of the Ornaments sent by the abbots of England to the Pope: And also by a Record in the Tower, where the King commandeth the Templars to deliuer such Iewels, garments, and ornaments, as they had of the kings in keeping. Among the which he nameth *Dalmaticum velatum de Orefreis* . . that is, a Damaske garment garded with Orfrayes." For the price in 1361-2, see the note on the next page.

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or duke, of northumberlande, before the conquest, sayethe: "cui tradita Coveneia, locus monasterio vicinus, vbi aurifrixorie et texturæ secretiùs cum puellis vacabat;" and a litle after, "Tunica Rubra purpura per gyrum et ab humeris aurifri vndique circumdatum."

Mathew Paris,

Then, after the conquest, mathew Paris speakethe thereof aboute ornamentes to be sente to the Poope. but because I haue not my mathewe Paris here, I will

[° *leaf* 23, *back*]

vouche one whose name hathe muche affinytye °with

and Archbp. Parker, witness.

hym, and that is, Mathewe Parker, Archbisshoppe of Canterburye, who, in the Lyfe of Bonifacius, Archbishoppe of that see, hathe these woordes. "a°. domini

In 1246 A.D. some English clergy took the Pope some orfrayes.

1246. Romæ multi Anglicani aderant Clerici, qui capis, vt aiunt, chorealibus, et infulis, ornamentisque ecclesiasticis, ex Anglice tunc more gentis, ex lana tenuissima et auro artificiosè intexto fabricatis, vterentur. Huiusmodi ornamentorum aspectu et concupiscentia provocatus Papa, rogavit cuiusmodi essent. Responsum

He was so pleased with it, that he askt what it was made of,

est, 'aurifrisia' appellari, quia et eminens ex panno & lana quam Angli 'Fryse' appellant, simul contexta sunt. Cui subridens, et dulcedina captus, Papa: Vere, inquit," (for these are the woordes of Mathewe Paris whiche lyved at that tyme,) "Hortus noster delitiarum est Anglia; verus puteus est inexhaustus, et vbi multa

and sent to the Cistercians in England

abundant, de multis multa sumere licet. Itaque, concupiscentia illectus oculorum, litteras suas Bullatas sacras misit ad Cistercienses in Anglia Abbates, (quorum

[° *leaf* 24]

orationibus se deuote °commendabat, vt ipsi hec aurifrisia speciosissima ad suum ornandum chorum comparent. Hoc Londoniensibus[1] placuit, quia ea tum

for the best to adorn his choir with.

venalia habebant, tantique quanti placuit vendiderunt:"

[1]

Orfreys { Largis { Willelmo Vestment-maker: pro iij orfreys largis, precio pecia .xl. s., emptis ab eo Londonium per prefatum Willelmo de Glendale per tempus predictum—vj. li.

minutis { Eidem: pro iiij. orfreys minutis, precio pecia x. s., emptis ab eo Londonium per tempus huius computi vt supra—xl. s.

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In whiche discourse, yo^{u} not onlye see that 'orefryes' was 'a weued clothe of golde,' and not 'goldsmythe woorke,' and that Englande had, before and since the conqueste, the arte to compose suche kynde of delicate Cloothe of golde, as Europe had not the lyke; for yf yt hadd, the poope wolde haue made suche prouisione thereof in other places, and not from Englande. And because yo^{u} shall not thinke that yt was onlye vsed of the Clergye, yo^{u} shall fynde, in a recorde of the towre, that yt was also one ornamente of the kinges garmente, since the Conqueste, for, in Rotulo Patentium 6. Iohannis, in Dorso (in whiche the kinge commaunded the templers to deliuer suche Iewells, garmentes, and ornamentes, as they had of the kinges in kepinge,) are these woordes: "Dalmaticam de eodem samitto, vrlatani de *orfreyes et cum lapidibus." Whiche is to saye, 'the kinges dalmaticall garmente of the same samitte (spoken of before, whiche was crymsone,) vrled or bordrede (suche as we nowe calle 'garded') withe orfreyes.'

So 'orfrayes' is a weaved cloth of gold.

Orfrayes was us'd as a border on a velvet robe of King John's.

[* *leaf* 24, *back*]

fforthlye: 'oundye & Crispe'[1] is by yo^{u} expounded 'slyked and curled:' whiche sence, althoughe yt may beare after some sorte, yet the proprytye of the true sence of 'oundye' (beinge an especiall terme appro-

4. *Oundye* means not 'slyked,'

enterd in the summary afterwards as

"Orfreys { largi . . . iij pecia / minuti iiij pecia."

35 or 36 Edw. III. Wardrobe Account of Receipts and Expenses. *Record Office*, 39/4.

Another entry mentions 'baselard:'—

Ensis / Cultelli / Baselard } { Ricardo Godchild: *pro* vno ense, *precio* vj. s. viij d. / *pro* vno *pari* cultello trenchours, *precio* xiij s. iiij d. / et *pro* vno cultello baselard, *precio* v. s., emptis ab eo Londonium *per* tempus huius computi vt supra . . xxv. s.

In the summary underneath, these are enterd as "Ensis j. Cultelli Trenchours j. par. Baselard. j."

35 or 36 Edw. III. (A.D. 1361 or 1362) Wardrobe Account of Receipts and Expenses. *Record Office*, 39/4.

[1] '*owndy and crispe*, sliked, and curled.'—*Speght*, 1598; but in ed. 1602 '*owndy* wauing.'

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but 'wavy,' like water.

priate to the arte of Heraldye) dothe signyfye 'wavinge or movinge, as the water dothe;' being called 'vndye,' of the latyne 'vnda' for water; for so her heare was oundye, that is, layed in rooles vppone and downe, lyke waues of water when they are styrred with the winde, and not slyked or playne, &c.

5. *Resager* should be *Resalgar*.

ffyftlye: Yo^{u} expounde not 'Resagor,'[1] beinge a terme of Alchymye; as yo^{u} leave manye of them vntouched. This worde sholde rather be 'resalgar:' wherefore I will shewe yo^{u} what Resalgar ys in that abstruce scyence whiche Chawcer knewe full well, althoughe he enveye againste the sophisticall abuse thereo in the chanons yeomans tale. This Resalgar is that w*hi*che by some is called 'Ratesbane,' a kynde of poysone named 'Arsenicke,' w*hi*che the Chimicall philosophers call their venome or poysone. Whereof I colde produce infynyte examples; but I will gyve yo^{u} onlye these fewe for a taste. Aristotle, in Rosario philosophorum, sayethe, "nullum tingens Venenum generatur absque sole et eius vmbra, id est, vxore." Whiche venome they call by all names presentinge or signyfyinge poysone, as a toode, a dragon, a Basiliske, a serpente, arsenicke, and suche lyke; and by manye other names, as "in exercitacione ad turbam Philosophorum," apperethe, wher aqua simplex is called 'venenum, Argentum viuum, Canibar, aqua permanens, gumma, acetum, vrina, aqua maris, Draco, serpens,' etc. And of this poysone the treatyce 'de phenice,'[2] or the philosophers stoone, written in Gotyshe rymynge verses, dothe saye;

[^{a} *leaf* 25]

It is Ratsbane or Arsenic,

and is calld Venom or Poison,

or any poisonous thing, as a toad, dragon, &c.

> Moribunda, corporis virus emanabat
> quod maternam faciem candidam fœdabat.

[1] *resagor* (with no explanation)—*Speght*, 1598; but in ed. 1602 '*resagor* rats bane.'

[2] A copy of this curious poem in Thynne's hand-writing, and marvellously illustrated by him, is in the Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 11,388.—G. H. K.

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[* *leaf* 25, *back*]

6. *Begyns* are not generally 'superstitious hypocrites,'

'Begyn and Bigott,' yo^u^ expounde 'super*s*ticious hipocrites,'[1] whiche sence I knowe yt maye somewhat beare, because yt sauorethe of the disposit*i*one of those begins, or 'Beguines,' for that ys the true wrytinge. But this woorde 'Begyn' sholde in his owne nature rightlye haue ben expounded, 'super*s*tic*i*ous or hipocriticall wemenne,' as apperethe by chaucer. himselfe, w*hi*che nombrethe them emongest thee wemen in the Romante of the Roose, when he sayethe,

but superstitious and hypocritical women,

> But empresses, & duchesses,
> These queenes, & eke countesses
> These Abbasses, & eke Bigins,
> These greate ladyes palasins. (vi. 209, l. 6861-4.)

And a little after, in the same Romante, he dothe write,

> That dame abstinence weyned,[2]
> Tooke one a Robe of camelyne,
> And ganne her gratche[3] as a 'bygin.'
> A large cover-cheife of Thredde
> She wrapped all aboute her hedde. [*leaf* 26]
> (vi. 224, l. 7370.)

Beguines in French,

These wemene the Frenche call 'Beguynes' or nonnes; being in Latyne called 'Bigrinæ' or 'Biguinæ.' Whose originall order, encrease, and contynuance, are sett downe by mathewe Paris and mathewe Westm*inster*. But as I sayed, since I haue not my mathewe paris at hand, I will sett yo^u^ downe *th*e wordes of Mathewe Westmynster (otherwise called "Flores Historiaru*m*" or "Florilegus") in this sorte:—"Sub eisdem diebus (w*hi*che was in the yere of *Christ*e 1244, and aboute the 28 of kinge Henry the thirde), quidam in Almania precipue se asserentes vitam et habitu*m* relligionis elegisse, in vtroq*ue* sexu, sed maxime in muliebri, continentia*m*, cu*i*us[4] vite simplicitate profitentes, se voto priuato deo obligaru*n*t. Mulieresq*ue*, quas 'Bigrinas' vulgariter vocamus, adeò multiplicatæ sunt, quod earu*m*

whose order was founded A.D. 1244 in Germany.

Matthew of Westminster's account of the *Beguines*.

[1] '*bigin*, *bigot*, superstitious hypocrite.'—*Speght*, 1598. The 1602 ed. repeats this, but adds 'or hypocriticall woman.'

[2] streyned [3] graithe [4] ? MS.

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numerus in vna Ciuitate, scilicet Colonia, ad plus quam mille asseritur ascendisse, etc. After whiche, speak-
[* *leaf* 26, *back*] inge yn the yere of Christe 1250 of the encrease *of relligious orders, he sayeth, "Item in Alemania et Francia mulieres, quas 'Bigrinas' nominant," &c.

7. *Citrinatione* is a term of Alchemy,

'Citrinatione' yo[u] do not expounde,[1] beinge a terme of Alchymye. Whiche Citrinatione is bothe a coolor and parte of the philosophers stoone. for, as hathe 'Tractatus Avicennæ' (yf yt be his, and not liber suppositi[ti]us, as manye of the Alchimicall woorkes are foysted in vnder the names of the best lerned authors and philosophers, as Plato, Aristotle, Avicen, and suche others,) in *parte* of the 7 chapter: "Citrininatio
and means perfect digestion, est, quæ fit inter albu*m* et rubru*m*; et non dicitur Coolor perfectus," whiche Citrinat*i*one, as sayethe Arnoldus de nova villa, li. i. ca. 5. "nihil aliud est qua*m* completa digestio." for the worke of the philosophers stoone, followinge the worke of nature, hathe lyke coolor in the same degree. for as the vrine of manne, being whitishe, shewethe imp*er*fecte digestione: But when he hathe well rested, and slepte after the same, and the
or that the Philosopher's stone, when citron, is almost perfect. digestione p*er*fected: the vrine becomethe Citrine, or of a depe yellowe coolor: So ys yt in Alchymye. whiche made Arnolde call this 'Citrinatione,' perfecte
[* *leaf* 27] digestione, *or the coolor provinge the philosophers stoone broughte almoste to the heigh[t]e of his p*er*fect*i*one.

8. *Forage* is not 'meat,' or 'fodder,'

'Forage,' in one place yo[u] expounde 'meate,' and in other place 'fodder.'[2] boothe whiche properly can-
but means, in the Reeve's Prologue, notte stande in this place of chaucer in the reues prologe, where he sayethe, "my fodder is forage." for yf

[1] '*citrination*' in Speght's Glossary of 1598, but not explained. In ed. 1602 '*citrination*, perfect digestion, or the colour prouing the Philosophers stone.'

[2] '*forrage* meate . . . *forrage* fodder' (with 7 entries between the two).—*Speght*, 1598. In ed. 1602, only once, '*forrage, f.* fodder, course meate.'

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forrage be fodder, then is the sence of that verse, "my fodder is fodder." But fodder, beinge a generall name for meate gyven to Cattle in winter, and of affynytie withe foode applied to menne and beastes, dothe onlye signyfye 'meate.' And so the sence is, "my meate ys forage," that is, 'my meate is suche harde and olde prouisione as ys made for horses and Cattle in winter;' for so doth this worde 'forragium' in latyne signyfye. and so dothe Chaucer meane. for the worde next before dothe well shewe yt, when the Reve sayethe,

such old and hard provision as is made for horses and cattle in winter,

> I ame olde, me liste not play for age,
> Grasse tyme is donne, my fodder is forrage.

Yet metaphorically yt may be taken for other 'then drye horse meate, althoughe improperlye; as Chaucer hathe, in Sir Topas Ryme, where he makethe yt grasse for his horse, and vsethe the worde rather to make vpp the Ryme then to shewe the true nature thereof; sayinge,

[* *leaf* 27, *back* (MS. repeats 'for other')] or metaphorically, or to help out the ryme, as in *Sir Thopas*, it may mean grass.

> That downe he layed hym in that place,
> to make his steede some solace,
> and gyue hym good forage.

'Heroner' yo[u] expounde 'a certeyne kynde of Hawke,'[1] whiche is true; for a Goshawke,[2] sparrowe hawke, Tasselt, &c. be kyndes of Hawkes. But this 'heroner,' is an especiall hawke (of anye of the kyndes of longe winged hawkes) of moore accompte then other hawkes are, because the flighte of the Herone ys moore daungerous then of other fowles, insomuche, that when she fyndethe her selfe in danger, she will lye in the ayre vppon her backe, and turne vpp her bellye towardes the hawke, and so defile her enymye with her excrementes, that eyther she will blinde the hawke, or ells with her byll 'or talentes pierce the hawkes brest, yf she offer to cease vppon her.

9. The *Heroner* is a long-wingd hawk for hunting the heron, which fights when attackt.

[* *leaf* 28]

[1] '*heroner* a certaine kinde of hawke.'—*Speght*, 1598; but in ed. 1602 'a speciall long winged hawke.'

[2] MS. Gowshake.

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10. The *Hip* is the berry of the Sweet Briar or Eglantine.

The 'Hyppe' is not simplye 'the redde berye one the Bryer,' vnlest yo^{u} adde this epithetone, and saye, 'the redde Berrye one the swete Bryer,' (which is the Eggletyne,) to distinguyshe yt from the comone Bryer or Bramble, beringe the blacke Berye; for that name 'Bryer' ys comone to them boothe, when the 'Hyppe' is proper but to one; nether maye yt helpe yo^{u} that yo^{u} saye 'the redd Berye,' to distinguyshe yt from the Blacke, for the blackeberye ys also redde for a tyme, and then may be called 'the redde Berye of the Bryer' for that tyme.

11. *Nowell* means not only Christmas, but Advent, and New Year's tide too.

'Nowell,' yo^{u} expounde 'Christmesse,'[1] whiche ys that feaste, and moore; for yt is that tyme whiche is properlye called the Aduente, together with Christmesse and Newe yeres tyde; wherefore the true etymologye of that worde ys not Christmesse, or the twelue dayes, but yt is 'godd with vs,' or, 'oure Godde,' expressinge to vs the comynge of Christe in the fleshe; whiche peraduenture after a sorte, by the figure Senecdoche, yo^{u} may seeme to excuse, placinge ther *Christ*emas, a p*ar*te of this tyme of Nowell, for all the tyme that Nowell conteynethe. for in the same worde is conteyned, sometyme xx, but for the most p*ar*te thirtye dayes, before Christmesse, aswell as the Christmesse yt selfe, that woorde beinge deduced, as hathe Wille*l*mus Postellus in 'Alphabeto 12 Linguarum,' from the hebrue worde Noell; for thus he writethe: "בא"ל noel, sonat deus noster, siue Deus nobis aduenit. Solitaq*ue* est hec vox cantari a plebe ante *Christi* natalitia viginti aut triginta dies quodam desiderio."

[* *leaf* 28, *back*]

12. *Porpherye* is not only 'marble,'

'Porpherye,' yo^{u} expounde 'marble,'[2] w*hi*che

[1] '*nowell* christmesse,' ed. 1598. '*nowell* signifieth *Deus nobiscum*; and is taken for Christmas, & xx. or xxx. daies next before.'—ed. 1602.

[2] '*porpheri* marble,' ed. 1598. '*porpheri*, *f.* a marble mingled with red.'—ed. 1602.

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marble ys genus, but purpherye is species; for as there is white and grey marble, so ys there redde marbeH, whiche is this porpherye, a stone of reddishe purple coolor, distincte or enter'laced with white veynes, as yo^{u} may see in the great pillers entringe into the royalle exchange or burse in CornehiH.

but a peculiar red marble. [* *leaf* 29]

'Sendale,' yo^{u} expounde 'a thynne stuffe lyke Cypres.'[1] but yt was a thynne stuffe lyke sarcenette, and of a rawe kynde of sylke or sarcenett, but courser and narrower, then the Sarcenett nowe ys, as my selfe canne remember.

13. *Sendale* is thin silk stuff like sarcenet.

'Trepegett,'[2] yo^{u} expounde 'a Ramme to batter walles.' But the trepegete was the same that[3] the mogonell; for Chaucer calleth yt a trepagett or magoneH; wherefore the trepegett and magoneH beinge aH one, and the magoneH one instrumente to flynge or cast stones (as youre selfe expounde yt) into a towne, or againste a towne walles, (one engine not muche vnlyke to the Catapulte, an instrumente to cast forthe dartes, stones, or arrowes,) the trepeget must nedes also be one instrumente to cast stones or suche lyke against a waH or into a towne, and not a Ramme to batter wal[l]es; since the Ramme was no engyne to flinge anye thinge, but by mens handes to be broughte *and pusshed againste the walles; a thinge farr different in forme from the magonell or catapulte, as apperethe by Vigetius and Robertus Valturius 'de re militari.'

14. The *trepegett* is not a battering-ram,

but an engine to cast stones,

[* *leaf* 29, *back*]

like a catapult.

'Wiuer,'[4] yo^{u} expounde not: wherefor I will tell yo^{u}, a Wyuer is a kynde of serpent of good Bulke, not vnlyke vnto a dragon, of whose kinde he is, a thinge well knowen vnto the Heroldes, vsinge the same for armes, and crestes, & supporters, of manye gentle and

15. A *Wiuer* or Wyvern, is a serpent like unto a dragon.

[1] '*sendall*, a thinne stuffe like cipresse,' ed. 1598, and 1602, but 1602 spells 'thin.'

[2] '*trepeget*, a Ram to batter wals,' ed. 1598; 'an instrument to cast stones,' ed. 1602.

[3] ? as

[4] 'wyuere' (without explanation), ed. 1598: '*wyuer*, a kind of serpent much like to a dragon,' ed. 1602.

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noble menne. As the erle of Kent bearethe a wiuer for his Creste and supporters; the erle of Penbroke, a wiuer vert for his Creste; the erle of Cumberlande, a wiuer geules for his supporters.

16. *Autenticke* means, not a thing of antiquity,

'Autenticke,' yo[u] expounde to be 'antiquytye.'[1] But howe yo[u] may seme to force and racke the worde to Chaucers meaninge, I knowe not; but sure I ame,

but of authority.

the proper signyficatione of 'autenticke' is, 'a thinge of auctorytye or credit allowed by menne of auctorytye, or the originall or fyrste archetypum of any thinge'; whiche I muse that yo[u] did not remember.

17. *Abandone* is not liberty; [* *leaf* 30]

'Abandone,'[2] yo[u] expounde 'libertye'; whiche in all *Italiane, Frenshe, and Spanishe, signyfyeth 'relinquere, to forsake and leave a thinge'; whiche me thinkethe yo[u] most hardely stretche to 'libertye,' vnlest yo[u] will saye that, when one forsakethe a thinge, he leavethe yt at libertye; whiche ys but a streyned

though Hollyband says it is.

speche, althoughe the frenche Hollybande, not vnderstandinge the true energye of our tongue, hath expounded yt 'libertye'; whiche may be some warrante vnto yo[u].

[V. *Speght's Mistakes in his Annotacions on, and Corrections of, the Text of Chaucer.*]

Vnder the title of youre

Annotacions and Corections.

In youre Annotacions yo[u] describe, oute of the

[1] '*autentike*, of antiquitie,' ed. 1598; 'of awthoritie,' ed. 1602.

[2] '*abandon*, libertie,' ed. 1598; '*Abandon*, *f.* libertie. *aoandon*, *f.* giue ouer.' ed. 1602. Palsgrave (1530) gives, p. 831, col. 2, "At large, that men maye take what they wyll, *A abandon*; as *toute planté de biens y estoyent a abandon*; *il met ses dayns, a abandon*;" and on p. 832, col. 1, "At pleasure, *A bandon*, and *a talent*; as *et que le voye a bandon*, and *ma femme ma batu a son talent*."

Abandon, bandon, licence, liberty: *m. Abandonner* ... to giue ouer, or to license, to cast off: as also, to deliuer a thing to the libertie, will, or pleasure of any man: *Hollyband*, ed. 1593.

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prologues, the 'vernacle' to be 'a broche or figure, wherein was sett the Instrumentes wherwith Christe was crucyfyed, and withall a napkyn whereine was the printe of his face.'[1] but the vernacle did not conteyne the instrumentes of his deathe, but only the clothe wherein was the figure of his face; as I conceve yt with others.

18. The *Vernicle* is not a brooch with the instruments of Crucifixion,

but only the cloth with the picture of Christ's face.

fo: 1. pa: 2. For 'Campaneus' you wolde reade 'Capaneus,' wherunto I cannott yelde.[2] for althoughe Statius and other latine authors do call hym "'Capaneus'; yet all the writers of Englande in that age call him 'campaneus'; as Gower, 'in confessione amantis,' and Lidgat in 'the historye of Thebes' taken oute of Statius, and Chaucer hym selfe in many other places. so that yt semethe they made the pronuntiatione of 'Campaneus' to be the dialecte of our tonge for 'Capaneus.' Besides, chaucer is in this to be pardoned, in that, takinge his 'knightes tale' oute of the Thesayde of Bocas, written in Italiane (and of late translated into frenche,) dothe there, after the Italiane manner, call him 'campaneus'; for so the Italians pronounce woordes begynninge with 'Cap': with the interpositione of the lettere m, pronouncinge yt 'camp': for, that which the Latins call 'capitolium,' the Italians call 'campidoglio'; and suche lyke. Wherefore, since yt was vniuersallye receued in that age, to call him 'Campaneus,' lett vs not nowe alter yt, but permytte yt to have free passage accordinge to the pronuntiatione and wrytinge of that age. since, in deducinge woordes from one language to one other, there ys often additione and substractione of letters, or of Sillabes, before, in the middle, and in the

19. In *The Knight's Tale* you must read 'Campaneus,' [*leaf 30, back*] not 'Capaneus;'

for the Italians alter the Latin *cap-* into *camp-*.

[*leaf 31]

[1] Sign. Bbbb. iii. back, ed. 1598. '*Vernacle* (Prolog.) A cloth or napkin, wherin was the figure of Christ's face,' ed. 1602.

[2] Speght leaves 'Campaneus' without comment in his 1602 ed. All the MSS. of my *Six-Text* read "Cappaneus." A, 932. Capaneus was one of the seven heroes who besiegd Thebes.

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ende of those wordes. whereof infynyte examples mighte be produced, whiche I nowe shonne for brevytye.

20. In *The Knight's Tale*, A, 1374, Speght's reading of 'Eros' for 'Hereos' is good;

fo: 3. pa: 2. ("noughte comelye lyke to louers maladye of hereos.") for whiche woorde 'hereos,' yo[u] reade eros, i. cupide,[1] a very good and probable correctione, well gathered out of Luciane. But (salua patientia vestra, and reservinge to myselfe better iudgmente hereafter, yf I nowe mystake yt,) I wolde, for the printed 'hereos' of Chaucer, read 'heroes': whiche two woordes onlye differ in misplacinge of the letters; a comone thinge for the printer to do, and the corrector to ouerpasse. for Arcyte, in this furye of his love, did not shewe those courses of gouer[n]mente, whiche the Heroes, or valiante persons, in tymes paste vsed; for thoughe they loued, yet that passione did not generallye so farre ouerrule them (althoughe yt mighte in some one particuler personne) as that they lefte to [*] contynewe the valor, and heroicke actions, whiche they

but Thynne prefers that of 'Heroes,'

and gives his reasons for it.

[* *leaf* 31, *back*]

[1] Speght reads 'Eros' in his 1602 ed., as against 'Hereos' in his 1598 one; and puts this note in his Glossary:—

"Whereas some copies haue Hereos, some Hernes, and some such like counterfeit word, whereof can be giuen no reason, I haue set downe Eros, *i.* Cupid, as most agreeing in my opinion with the matter; which I gather thus: Lucian in his second Dialogue bringeth in Cupid teaching Iupiter how to become amiable; & in him, how louers may be made acceptable to their ladies; not by weeping, watching, & fasting, nor by furious melancholike fits, but by comely behauiour. The words in the Greeke are thus much in Latine: *Si voles amabilis esse, neque concutias Aegida, neque fulmen geras; sed suauissimum teipsum exhibe, & vestem sume purpuream, crepidas subliga auratas: ad tibiam & et Tympana composito gressu incede, & videbis quod plures te sequentur, quam Bacchum Manades.* So that the louers of Eros, that is, Cupids seruaunts, doe cary themselues comely in all their passions, & their maladies are such as shew no open distemperature of body or minde: which mediocritie this Arcite was farre from keeping. And wheras some [*t. i.* F. Thynne, &c.] will haue vs read Heroes, *i* noble men; I cannot dislike their opinion, for it may fitly stand with the sense of the place."—*Speght*, ed. 1602, sign. Ttt iiii, back.

The three A MSS. of the *Six-text* rightly read 'Hereos'; the three B ones 'Heres.'—A. 1374.

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before performed. for the Heroes sholde so love, as that they sholde not forgett, what theye were in place, valor, or magnanymytye, whiche Arcite, in this passione, did not observe "lyke to louers malady of Heroes." Whereof I colde produce six hundred examples, (as the prouerbe ys,) were yt not that I avoyde tedious prolixytye.

21. A *florin* is not 2*s.* French.

fo: 6. pa: 2. "Manye a florence." In whiche noote yo^{u} expounde a florence to be ijs frenche, and a gelder to be the same in dutche.[1] Wherein yo^{u} mistake the valewe of a florens, suche as was vsed in Chaucers tyme, w*hi*che, takinge his name of the woorkemenne, beinge florentynes, (of the terrytorye of florence in Italye,) were called 'florens'; as sterlinge money tooke their name of Esterlinges, whiche refyned and coyned the siluer in the tyme of kinge Henry the seconde. for two shillinges frenche ys not equall in valewe (as I nowe take yt) to two shillinges Englyshe: and much 'lesse equall to the florens in Chaucers tyme, whiche was of the valewe of thre shillinges, fowre pence, or halfe a noble, or, at the leaste, of two shillinges tenne pence farthinge, as apperethe by recorde and historye: some of them beinge called 'florens de scuto,' or of the valewe of the 'shelde,' or frenche crowne, and some of them called florens regall. Whereof yo^{u} shall fynde, in the recorde of pellis exitus in the exchequier, in michelmas terme 41: Ed: 3. this note: "Bartholomeo de Burgershe, militi, in denariis sibi liberatis in parte solutionis 8000 florenoru*m* de scuto, pretii petii, iijs iiijd, sibi debitis de illis 30000 florenoru*m* de scuto, in quibus Rex tenebatur eidem

Florins get their name from the Florentines,

as *Sterling* money takes its name from the Esterlings, who coind silver temp. Hen. II.

[* *leaf* 32] The Florin in Chaucer's time was of 2 kinds, one (*de scuto*) worth 3*s.* 4½*d.*, the other (*Regal*) worth 2*s.* 10½*d.*

Of Florins *de scuto*,

8000, worth 3*s.* 4*d.* apiece, were paid to Sir Bartholomew de Burgershe in 41 Edw. III.

[1] 'A floreine is two shillings French, a Gilder is the same in Dutch.'—Speght, ed. 1598, *Annotacions*, sign. Bbbb iiii. 'A coine of the value of 3. shil. 4. pence, or thereabouts, and such were called *Florenes de Scuto*. Others were called *Florenes Regales*, containd within the price of 2. sh. x. d. q.'—ed. 1602, sign. Ttt iiii, back.

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Bartholomeo pro comite de Ventadoure, prisonario suo apud Bellum de Poyters in guerra capto, et ab eodem Bartholomeo ad opus Regis empto, vt patet per litteras Regis patentes, quas idem Bartholomeus inde penes se habet. in Dorso, de summa subscripta, per breve de magno sigillo, inter mandata de Termino Michaelis, de anno 36—xx^{ti}." To the valewe whereof agreeth 'Hipodigma Neustriæ,' *pa. 127, where, settinge downe the ransome of the frenche kinge taken at Poyters, to the valewe of thre milliones of florens, he sayethe, "of whiche florens, duo valebant vjs. viijd." These florens the same Walsingham in other place callethe 'scutes,' or frenche crownes, pa. 170, sayinge: "Rex quidem Franciæ pro sua redemptione soluit regi Angliæ tres milliones scutorum, quorum duo valent vnum nobile, videlicet, sex solidos et octo denarios." Whiche scutes in lyke manner, in the tyme of kinge Henry the sixte, were of the same valewe, as apperethe in Fortescues comentaries of the lawes of Englande. But as those florens for the redemptione of the frenche kinge, were of the valewe of half one noble: so at the tyme of that kinges reigne there were also one other sorte of florens, not of lyke valewe, but conteyned within the price of ijs xd *quadranta.* called 'florene regales,' as apperethe in this record, of Easter terme, of Pellis exitus before sayed, where yt is thus entred one the sixte *of Iulye: "Guiscardo de Angles. Domino de pleyne martyne, In denariis sibi liberatis, per manus Walter Hewett, militis, in pretio 4000 florenorum regalium pretii petii—ijs xd *quadranta*; de quibus florenis regalibus, 7 computantur pro tribus nobilibus, eidem Guiscardo debitis." Whereby yo^{u} see the meanest of these florens did exced the valewe of ijs frenche, (althoughe yo^{u} sholde equall that with ijs englyshe,) as yt did also in other countryes. for in the lowe countryes at those dayes yt was muche aboute the valewe of

[* *leaf* 32, *back*] And of King John of France's ransom of three millions of florins,

every 2 florins was worth 6*s.* 8*d.*

Walsingham says one florin is worth half a noble, or, half 6*s.* 8*d.*

But in King John's time, other florins,

'Florins Regal,' were worth only 2*s.* 10½*d.* each.

[* *leaf* 33]

In the Low Countries a florin

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iijs iiijd, beinge halfe a pistolet Italiane or spanyshe, for so sayethe Heuterius Delphicus, (in the historye of Burgundye, in the lyfe of Philippe le hardye,) lyving at that tyme, and sonne to the frenche kinge taken prisoner by the Inglishe. Heuterius' woordes be these: "Illustris viri aliorumq*ue* nobilium mors adeo comitem comovit, vt relicta obsidione exercitus ad commeatus ducendos in proxima loca distribuerit. Decem milibus florenorum (moneta Belgica est semipistoletum Italicum pendens) pro Anglicani, aliorumq*ue* nobilium cadauerum redemptione solutis," &c.

was worth about 3s. 4d.

[* *leaf* 33, *back* (MS. repeats Decem millibus).]

fo: 7. pa: 2. For "vnseriall" yo^{u} will vs to reade "Cerriall," for Cerrus[1] is a kynde of tre lyke one oke, beringe maste; and therefor by your correctione yt sholde be 'a garland of Grene oke Cerriall': But for the same reasone (because Cerrus ys a kynde of oke, as ys also the Ilex) I Iudge yt sholde not be redde 'Cerriall,' but 'vnseriall,' that ys, (yf yo^{u} will nedes have this word 'Cerriall,') 'a garlande of Greene oke not Cerreall,' as who sholde saye, she had a Garlande of Grene oke, but not of the oke Cerriall; and therefore, a garlande of oke Vnseriall, signyfyinge a garlande that was freshe and Grene, and not of dedd wannyshe Coolor, as the oke Cerriall in some parte ys. for the Cerrus, being the tree w*hi*che we comonly call the 'holme oke,' (as Cooper also expoundeth the Ilex to be that whiche wee call holme,) producethe two kyndes; whereof the one hathe greater, and the other lesser

22. In *The Knight's Tale* the oak-leaf garland of Emelye is rightly calld 'unserial.'

which should not be changed to 'cerriall.'

'Unserial' means fresh and green, not wan, like the Cerriall or Holm Oak,

[* *leaf* 34]

[1] The *Quercus cerris*, the mossy cupped oak.—G. H. K. The MS. may be read 'Cerris,' for, though written 'Cerrus,' the first stroke of the *u* has a dot under it, as if for omission, and the second stroke has a dot above, as if meant for *i*; but the word is written 'cerrus' afterwards in the MS. The three A MSS. rightly read 'cerial'; the three B ones, 'serial' (P. seriall). A 2290.

"*Unseriall*, read, *Cerriall: Cerrus* is a kind of tree like an Oke, and beareth maste. *vide Plinium*."—*Speght*, ed. 1598, sign. B bbb. iiii. The 'vnseriall' is left in the text of ed. 1602, without note or explanation in the Glossary.

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whose leaves, though greenish on one side, are russet and dark on the other, not fit for the young Emelye,

acornes, whose leaves beinge somewhat grene one *the* one syde, and of one ouer russett and darkyshe Coolor on the other syde, were not mete for this garlande of Emelye, whiche sholde be freshe and Grene one everye parte,—as was her yonge and grene yeres, lyke to the goddesse to whom she sacryfyced,—and therfore a garlande of Grene oke vnseriaℍ, not beinge of oke serriaℍ; for yf yt had byn oke serriall, yt wolde haue shewed duskyshe, and as yt were of dedishe leaves, and not freshe and orient, as chaucer wolde haue her garlande. And this for your e[x]positione of 'vnseriall,' in some parte: for I wolde suppose that this worde 'vnseriaℍ' dothe not vnaptly signyfye perfectione of Coolor, so

whose garland should be fresh bright green.

that she havinge a Garlande of Grene oke vnseriaℍ, dothe signyfye the oke to be grene and vnseriaℍ, that is, (as some do expounde this worde vnseriall,) vnsered, vnsinged, vnwithered, of freshe coolor, lyke unto the oke Quercus, whiche hathe no sered nor withered

[* *leaf* 34, *back*] cooloor in *his leafes. And yt was of necessytye that

Also, as Emily sacrific't to Diana,

Emely (sacryfysinge to Diana) must haue a garlande of the Grene oke Quercus, because that they whiche sacryfyced vnto Diana, otherwise called Heccate, (which name is attribute to Diana, as natalis Comes affirmethe with statius in his Acheleidos, in his first Booke, sayinge,

Sic vbi virgineis Heccate lassata pharetris,

being Diana adorned with her bowe and arrowes, called also 'Triuia,' because Luna, Diana, and Heccate, were aℍ one, whereof Virgill speaketh,

Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianæ,)

who was crownd with green oak-leaves,

were adorned with a crowne of the grene oke Quercus, because that Heccate was wont to be crowned therewith, as hath Pierius Valerius in his 51 booke of Hieroglyphes, sayinge, "Heccate quoquè Quercu coronari solita est." for althoughe Quercus be consecrate to Iupiter, because he gave his oracles in the same 'in

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Sylva Dodonea,' and therefore called 'Iupiter Dodoneus'; Yet Antiquytye adorned and crowned Diana Heccate with the same *crowne also. Wherfore I conclude, since she [Emelye] had a garlande of Grene oke, (as Chaucer of purpose addethe that woorde 'Greene' to explane 'vnseriaH,' whiche signyfiethe vnsered, vnparched, vnwithered in euery parte, not lyke to the oke serriaH, whose leafe one the one syde is duskyshe, as thoughe yt were somewhat withered,) that the same worde 'vnseriaH' must stande vnamended, as well (as I sayed before) by youre owne correctione and the nature of the worde; as for that Diana, called Heccate, was crowned with the oke Quercus, and not with the oke Cerrus. But yf yo^{u} obiecte to mee that, in this place, yt must be a garlande of oke CerriaH accordinge to the woordes of Chaucer in one other place, because that he, in 'the flower and the leafe' (newely printed by yo^{u})[1], hathe these woordes;

[* *leaf* 35]

of course Emily ought to wear a garland of *green* oak-leaves too,

not those of the dusky 'oke cerriall.'

As to Chaucer's giving,

in the *Flower and the Leaf* [which he didn't write]

> I sie come first, all in theire clokes white,
> a companye that ware, for delighte,
> Chaplet*tes* freshe of oke serriall
> Newly sponge, and Trompet*tes* they were all;

'Chaplettes of oke serriall' to the Trumpeters,

I denye that therefore in the Knightes Tale *yt must be oke serriaH. for yt maye weH bee, that such meane persons as trompettes might be crowned with so base one oke as the serriall ys, whiche I caH base in respecte of the oke Quercus (dedicate to the godd Iupiter) wherwithe Heccate was crowned, and whereof Garland*es* were gyuen to the Romans for their nooble desartes in the warres, as apperethe in the QuernaH crowne gyven to those whiche had saued a cytyzen. Wherefore Chaucer dothe rightly (and of purpose, with great iudgm*ent*, in my conceyte,) make a difference in the Chaplettes of the Trompettes, and the garland*es* of

[* *leaf* 35, *back*]

that was right, as they were mean persons,

and had no right to the oak-leaf crown of Diana and noble Romans,

[1] Speght was the first to print the spurious, though beautiful, *Flower & Leaf*, as Chaucer's, both in his ed. of 1598 and that of 1602.

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but only of imperfect holm or 'cerriall' oak leaves.

Emelye, in that the trompett*es* chapplett*es* were of oke serriall newly spronge, and not coome to perfect*i*one, whiche yet, yf they had byn p*er*fecte, wolde not haue byn soo oryente and Greene one bothe sydes as ys the oke Quercus, wherewithe he wolde haue this Emelye crowned, as was her goddesse Heccate Diana (to whome she dyd sacryfyce) accustomed to bee. for so in tymes past (as I sayed before) the sacryfycer sholde be adorned withe *garlandes of suche thinges as were consecrate to the goddes to whome they sacryfyced. for whiche cause also I ame not moved, thoughe Caxtone in his seconde editione do call yt one oke serriall. for I knowe (not withstandinge his fayre prologe of printinge that by a true copye) there be manye imperfections in that Booke.

[* *leaf* 36]

Caxton, it is true, reads 'serriall;' but then his 2nd edition of the *Canterbury Tales* has many mistakes in it. [True, oh Thynne!]

Fo: 9: pa. 1. for 'euerye') yo^u^ will^l^ us to reade 'eyther.'[1] But the sence ys good, as well that they dyd ryde one euerye syde of hym, as of eyther syde of hym. for they boothe colde not ryde of euerye syde of hym, no moore then they both colde ryde of eyther syde of him; and therefore they two ryding one euerye side of hym, canne haue noone other construct*i*one then that the one did ryde of the one syde, and the other one the other side; and therfore an ouer nice correct*i*one, thoughe some coppies do warrant yt:

23. *Eyther* for *euerye* (*Knight's Tale*, A, 2570), is 'an overnice correction.'

Fo: 10. pa: 1. for "save onlye the intellecte,") yo^u^ wolde haue us reade "and also the intellecte."[2] *But yf yo^u^ will^l^ consider the woordes of Chaucer, (as I haue donne in all the written copyes whiche I haue yet seene,) his meanyn*g*e ys not that the intellecte was

24. Your *And also*, for *save only* [* *leaf* 36, *back*] (*Knight's Tale*, A, 2803), is also wrong,

[1] "Euery *read* Either."—*Speght*, 1598 (in 'These two Thebans on euery side'). The 1602 ed. reads 'And these two Thebans on either side,' rightly rejecting Thynne's remarks. All the *Six-Text* MSS. read 'either' (or 'eyþer,' &c.).

[2] 'Saue onely, *read* And also', ed. 1598; but the 1602 edition leaves it 'Saue only the intellect.' All the *Six-Text* MSS. read 'Only the intellect withouten more,' with vari'd spelling. A, 2803.

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wholye goonne, as yt wolde bee yf yo^{u} sholde reade, "and also the intellecte" for "saue only the intellecte." for Chaucers meany*n*ge ys, that aℍ his streng[t]he and vitaℍ sprites aboute his outewarde partes were gonne, save onlye his intellecte or vnderstandinge, w*hi*che remayned sounde and good, as apperethe after by the followinge woordes; for when deathe approched, and that aℍ outwarde senses fayled, he [Arcite] yet cast eye vppon Emelye, remembringe her, thoughe the chefest vitall sprite of his harte and his streng[th]e were gonne from hym. but he colde not haue cast his eye vppone Emelye, yf his intellecte had fayled hym. Yet yf yo^{u} liste to reade, "and also the intellecte," for "Saue only the intellecte," yt maye after a sorte somewhat be borne withaℍ, nothewithstandinge that a pointe at streng[t]he is looste; and a parenthesis includynge ("Save only the intellecte, without moore,") *wiℍ make the sence good, in this sort as I have here pointed yt:

for the intellect of Arcite had not wholly gone,

or he would not have known Emelye.

[* *leaf* 87]

> And yet moore ouer, from his armes two
> the vital streng[t]he is lost: & all agoo
> (saue only the intellecte without moore)
> that dwelleth in his hart sicke & soore
> gan faylen: When the hart felt death &c.

Fo: 10. pa. 2. for "armes straughte" you wolde reade "yt haughte,"[1] when 'straughte' is moore signyfica*n*t, (and moore answerable to Chaucers woordes w*hi*che followethe) then 'haughte[2]' ys. for he speakethe of the Bredthe and spredinge of the boughes or armes or branches of the tree, whiche this woorde 'straughte' dothe signyfye, and is moore aptlye sett downe for stretched, then this woorde 'haughte,' whiche signyfyethe catchinge holde, or holdinge faste, or (yf

25. Your *haughte* for *Straught* (*Knight's Tale*, A, 2916) is wrong,

as Chaucer speaks of the stretching out of the branches of the tree.

[1] "Armes straught, *read* It haught," ed. 1598: but the reading "armes straught" is rightly left in ed. 1602, fol. 10, col. 1, as Thynne suggests it should be. The Petworth alone of the *Six-Text* MSS. reads 'raught'; all the others have 'straughte' or 'strauhte.'

[2] MS. straughte

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yo^{u} will streyne yt againste his nature) stretchinge on heighe, w*hi*che agreethe not well with Chaucers meanynge; for thes bee his word*es*:

> And twenty fadome of breed th'armes straughte;
> That is to sayen, the Bowes weere so broode, &c.

[^{a} *leaf* 87, *back*] 26. Your *visage* for Chaucer's *vasalage* is a mere impertinent correction.

^{a}fo: 11. pa: 1. "for all forgotten in his vassalage,)" yow wolde haue vs reade, "for all forgotten is then his Visage"; a thinge mere impertinente.[1] for the forgettinge of his visage and personage is not materiall, nor regarded of anye to haue his face forgotten; but yt is muche materiall (and so ys Chaucers meanynge) that his vassalage, and the good service donne in his youthe, shold be forgotten when he waxethe olde. And therefore yt must bee "his vassalage forgotten"; as presently after Chaucer sayethe, 'better for a manne to dye when he is yonge, and his honor in price, then when he is olde, and the service of his youthe forgotten;' w*hi*che I colde dilate and prove by manye examples; but I cannott stande longe vppon euerye pointe, as well for that I wolde not be tedious vnto yo^{u}, as for that leysure seruethe me not thereunto.

27. Your *leafe* for *lothe* is a needless correction.

Fo: 13. pa: 1. for "lothe" yo^{u} bidde vs reade "leefe,"[2] w*hi*che annotac*i*one neded not to haue byn there sett downe, because the verye woorde in the texte is "lefe."

28. Your *coughed* at the window is [^{a} *leaf* 88] less likely than *knocked*.

Fo: 14. pa: 1. for "knocked" yo^{u} reade "coughed"; but, the ^{a}circumstance considered, (althoughe they maye both stande,) yt is moore probable that he[3] knocked at

[1] Certainly a well-deserved snub. Speght feels it so, and accordingly leaves 'For all foryetten is his vassallage' in his ed. of 1602, Fol. 10, back, col. 2, l. 1. All the *Six-Text* MSS. read 'vassalage', with varied spelling.—(Group A, 3054.)

[2] "Loth, *read* Lefe". And yet the line is "Ne though I say it, A am not *lefe* to gabbe" (A, 3510). There is no line with 'lothe' in it; and the only other line with *lefe* is, "And said: Johan hoste myn *lefe* and dere." Both are rightly *lefe* in ed. 1602.—(Group A, 3501.)

[3] Absolon.

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her[1] windowe, to make her the better to heare, then that he coughed.[2] for althoughe those woordes "with a semely sownde" maye haue relatione to the voyce, yet they maye aswell, and withe as much consonancye, haue reference to a semely and gentle kynde of knockinge at the windowe, as to the voyce; and so his meanynge was by that sounde to wake her, whiche wolde rather be by the noyes of a knocke then of a coughe; for so he determyned before to knocke, as apperethe in these verses, when he sayed,

For Absolon before said that

> So mote I thryve, I shall at Cockes crowe
> full priuely knocke at his windowe:

he'd knock.

And so apperethe by the tale afterwarde, that he knocked, as he did before, althoughe he coughed also at the latter tyme, for he knocked twyce.

Fol: 23. pa: 2. for "Surrye" yo read "Russye."[3] true yt is, that some written copies haue 'Russye,' and some 'Surrye.' And therfore indifferent after the wrytten copies, and some auncient printed copies before my fathers editione. But yf I shall interpone my opynione, I wolde more willingly (for this tyme) receve Surrey,[4] because yt is most lykelye that the tartarians whiche dwelt at Sara (a place yet well knowen, and boordering vppone the lake 'Mare Caspium,') is nerer to Sorria, or the countryes adyoynynge called Syria, then to Russya. for as Hato the Armeniane, in his Tartariane Historye, sayethe, The Cytye of Sara was

29. Your *Russye* for *Surrye* (*Squire's Tale*, F, 2) doesn't matter, [* *leaf* 28, *back*]

though *Surrye* is the more likely reading.

[1] The Carpenter's wife's.

[2] "Knocked, *read* Coughed", but 'knocked' is left in ed. 1602. The best MS., the Ellesmere, reads 'knokketh', A, 3696 (*Miller's Tale*). The other *Six-Text* MSS. have: Hengwrt, 'cogheth'; Cambridge, 'coude'; Corpus, 'coughed'; Petworth, 'kougheþ'; Lansdowne, 'couched'. All agree in reading 'semy', half (sound) for 'semely'.

[3] At Sarra, in the lond of Tartarie
Ther dwelt a kind that warred Surrie. (*Squiers Tale.*)

[4] Speght leaves it *Surrie* in his 1602 ed. All the *Six-Text* MSS. read 'Russye' or 'Russy.'

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auncyently the famous Cyttye of the Countrye of Cumania; and that the Tartarians obteyned the kingdome of Syria in the yere 1240, whiche must be in the tyme of the fyrst Tartariane Emperor called Caius canne, beinge (as I suppose) he whome Chaucer namethe Cambiuscan,[1] for so ys the written copies, suche affynytye is there betwene those two names. And, as I gather, yt was after that tyme that the Tartarians had warres in Russia. *But I leave yt indifferent at this tyme, as meanynge further to consider of yt.

Chaucer's Cambiuscan is the first Tartar Emperor, Caius canne.

[* *leaf* 39]

30. Your "there may no wighte saye naye," is not so good as "That may not saye naye,"

Fo: 31: pa: 2. for these woordes, "that may not saye naye,"[2] yo^{u} reade "there may no wighte say naye." bothe whiche are good, and boothe founde in written coppyes; and yet the firste will better stande, in my conceyte, because [*the king of Faerie*] there speakinge to his wyfe, he urgethe her that she cannott denye yt, when he sayethe 'my wyfe that cannott say naye,' as who sholde saye "yo^{u} cannot denye yt, because yo^{u} knowe yt, and experience teachethe yt;" so that these woordes, "that cannott say naye," must be taken as spoken of his wyfes knowledge, and so as good and rather better then "there maye no wighte saye naye," consideringe that these wordes "that cannot saye naye," dothe signyfye, "whoe cannott saye

as the Fairy King is telling his wife that she can't deny what he says against women.

[1] This is the reading of the best MSS., the Ellesmere and Hengwrt: see my note in the *Six-Text*, p. 479, Group F, l. 4.

[2] 'My wife (qd. he) that may nat say nay
The experience so proveth it euery day.'
(*The Marchauntes Tale.*)
Speght (wrongly) leaves the lines so in ed. 1602, except that he wisely cuts out 'The' in l. 2. The worst MS. in the *Six-Text*, the Lansdowne, alone reads "þat maie not seie naie," E. 2237 (p. 470); all the rest have, in varied spelling, and the Cambridge putting 'man' for 'wight':—
My wyf, quod he / ther may no wight seye nay
In the second line the three A MSS. read,
Thexperience / so proueth euery day
the three B ones (both A and B having varied spelling)
þe experiens proueþ it euery day.

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naye," in suche sorte that this relatyve (that), meanynge (whoe), must haue reference to his antecedente, this woorde 'wyfe.'

Fo: 35. pa: 2. for "he cleped yt valerye & theophraste," *yo^{u} saye 'some wolde haue vs reade "Valery and his Paraphraste."' But as yo^{u} haue left yt at libertee to the reader to iudge, so I thinke yt must nedes be Theophraste;[1] as the author [*of*] Policraticon in his eighte Booke, ca. 11. (from whome Chaucer borrowethe almost worde for worde a great parte of the Wyfe of Bathes prologe,) doth vouche yt; for the author of that Booke, Iohannes Sarisburiensis, lyvinge in the tyme of Henrye the seconde, sayethe, "Fertur Authore Hieronimo Aureolus Theophrasti liber, de nuptiis, in quo queritur an vir sapiens ducat vxorem," &c. And the frenche molinet, moralizinge the Romante of the roose in frenche, and turnynge yt oute of verse into proese, writethe, "Ha, se i'eusse creu Theophrates!" &c. 'Oh, yf I had beleued Theophraste, I had neuer maried womane'; for he dothe not holde hym wise that marieth anye womane, be she fayre, fowle, poore, or Riche; as he sayeth in his Booke Aureolle; whiche verye wordes chaucer dothe recyte.

81. Your *Paraphraste* for *Theophraste* is bad. [* *leaf* 39, *back*]

Great part of the Wife of Bath's Prologue is taken from John of Salisbury's *Policraticon*.

[1] Speght rightly leaves it 'Theophrast' in his 1602 ed., Fol. 34, col. 2. All the *Six-Text* MSS. of course read 'Theofraste,' D, 671, p. 352.

In Speght's Annotations to his 1598 ed., on which Thynne comments, Speght says ". . Valerie and Theophrast. Some will haue vs read *Valerie and his Paraphrast.* This Valerie wrote a booke *De non ducenda vxore*, with a Paraphrase vpon it, which I haue seene in the studie of Master Allen of Oxford, a man of as rare learning as he is stored with rare bookes. His [Valerie's] name was Gualterus Maape, Archdeacon of Oxford in the dayes of King Henry the second, but chaunged his name because he would not haue the Authour knowen, and termed it *Valerius ad Rufinum.* But yet there was one called Valerius, who wrote a booke of the same Argument printed among S. Ieromes workes. And likewise one called *Theophrastus Eresius*, who, among many things, did write of such matters. Let the Reader iudge."

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32. Your *Couentry* for *Country* (*Nun's Priest's Tale*) is a mistake.

Fo: 38. pa: 2. for this worde "Countrye"[1] yo^{u} will *vs to reade "Couentrye." But in my writtene copies yt is, "in my Countrye," whiche I holdé *the* truer, and for the sence as good, yf not better.

[* *leaf* 40]

33. So is your *waketh* for *maketh*,

Fo: 41. pa: 1. This woorde "makethe" is corrected by yo^{u}, who for the same do place "wakethe"; w*hi*che cannott weH stande;[2] for Chaucers woordes beinge, "this makethe the fende," dothe signyfye (by a true conuers*i*one after the dialecte of oure tonge, w*hi*che withe beawtye vsethe suche transmutac*i*one as I colde gyue yo^{u} many pretye instances,) that the sence thereof ys, "the fende makethe this," for whiche Chaucer vsethe these wordes by Transposit*i*one, (accordinge to the rethoricall figure Hiperbatone,) "This makethe the fende:" Whiche this? Anger: for that comethe, ys made, or occasioned, by the diueH. But yf yt sholde be "wakethe," then must the sence bee, that this (w*hi*che is the anger he speakethe of before) wakethe the fende; whiche oure offences cannot do, because he cannott be waked, in that he neyther slombrethe nor slepethe, but alwayes watchethe, *and howrely seekethe occas*i*one to destroye vs, lyke a roringe lyone. But yf yo^{u} wiH nedes saye "this wakethe the fende," that is, by conuersione, after this manner, "the fende waketh this," whiche signyfyethe, 'the fende wakethe or styrrethe this in manne,' yt maye, after a harde and ouer-

for Chaucer means that the Fiend causes anger.

[* *leaf* 40, *back*]

If you will read 'waketh,' you must take it to mean 'The Fiend wakes or stirs up anger in man.'

[1] "Whylome there was dweling in my countre"
(*Freres Tale*, l. 3).
In his 'Annotations,' Speght says, "Countrey, *read* Couentrie"; but he rightly leaves the word 'countre' in his 1602 edition, Fol. 37, col. 1. The Corpus, alone, of the *Six-Text* MSS. reads 'Couentre'; the others, rightly, 'contree' or 'contre.' D, 1301, p. 372.

[2] Is, indeed, "a thinge mere impertinente," as Thynne said before, p. 52, in this passage—

O Thomas, ie vous die, Thomas Thomas
This maketh ye fend, this must been am*e*nded
Ire is a thing that God highly defended—

and Speght of course leaves the word 'maketh' in his 1602 ed. Fol. 39, back, col. 1.

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streyned sorte, beare somme sence, whiche yet hath not that energye, sprite or lyfe, whiche haue Chaucers woordes, "this maketh the fende." Whiche woordes are in my written copies, and in all written and auncient printed copies whiche I haue yet seene.

34. As to *Hugh of Lincoln* (*Prioresses Tale*),

Fo: 96: pa: 2. vppon these woordes, "o hughe of Lincolne sleyne also, &c." Yᵘ saye, that "in the 29. H. 3. eightene Iewes were broughte [to London] from Lincolne, and hanged for crucyfyinge a childe of eight yeres olde." Whiche facte was [in] the 39. H. 3. so that yᵘ mighte verye weℓℓ haue sayed, that the same childe of eighte yeres olde was the same hughe of Lincolne; of whiche name there[1] were twoe, viz. thys younger Seinte Hughe, and Seinte 'Hughe Bishoppe of Lincolne, whiche dyed in the yere 1200, longe before this litle seinte hughe. And to proue [that] this childe of eighte yeres olde, and that yonge hughe of Lincolne, were but one, I wiℓℓ sett downe two auctoryties oute of Mathewe Paris and Walsinghame, whereof the fyrste wrytethe, that in the yere of Christe 1255, beinge the 39. of Henrye the 3, a childe called Hughe was sleyne by the Iewes at Lyncolne, whose lamentable historye he delyuerethe at large; and further, in the yere 1256, beinge 40. H. 3. he sayethe, "dimissi sunt quieti .24. Iudei à Turri London, qui ibidem infames tenebantur compediti pro crucifixione sancti Hugonis Lincolniæ:" All whiche, Thomas Walsingham, in 'Hypodygma Neustriæ,' confirmethe; saying, A°. 1255. "Puer quidam Christianus, nomine Hugo, à Iudeis captus, in opprobrium Christiani nominis crudeliter est crucifixus."

the Lincoln Jews were hangd in 1255, not in 1245, for crucifying the 8-year old Hugh.

[* *leaf* 41]

Bp Hugh of Lincoln died A. D. 1200.

35. Your change of "Where the sunne is in his ascensione" [* *leaf* 41, *back*] (*Nun's Priest's Tale*, B, 4146) is needless,

Fo: 86. pa. 1. ("Where the sonne is in his ascensione," &c.) yᵘ wiℓℓ vs to reade for the same,[2]

*ware the soone[3] in his ascentione
ne fynde yᵘ not replete of humors hotte,
for yf yt doe ...

[1] MS. their [2] MS. sume

[3] Speght spells "sunne, ascension, find, humours hote, if

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But, savinge correct*i*one, the former sence is good: for these woordes: "Where the sonne is in his ascentione," must haue relat*i*one to the woordes of the verse before,

ye be righte colericke of complex*i*one,

and then is the sence, that she[1] willed hym[2] to purge, for that he was righte (that is, extremelye, and in the highest degree,) collericke of complex*i*one, where (*whi*che signyfyethe 'when') the sonne is in his ascent*i*one. wherefore he must take heede, that he did not fynde hym repleate (at that tyme of the sonnes being in his ascent*i*one) of hoote humors, for yf he did, he sholde surelye haue one ague. And this will stand with the woordes "where the sonne is in his ascentione," takinge 'where' for 'when,' as yt is often vsed. But yf yo[u] mislyke that gloose, and will begyn one new sence, as yt is in some written copyes, and saye, "Ware the sonne in his assentione, [* *leaf* 42] *ne fynde you not repleate," &c. yet yt cannotte bee that the other woordes, ("for yf yt doo,") canne answere the same, because this pronoune relatyve ('yt') cannott haue relat*i*one to this worde ('yo[u]') whiche wente before in this lyne, "Ne fynde yo[u] not repleate of humors hotte." So that yf yowe will nedes reade "ware" for "where," yet the other parte of the followinge verse must nedes be, "for yf yo[u] doe," and not "for yf yt dooe"; vnleste yo[u] will saye that this woorde ('yt') must have relat*i*one to these woordes, ("the sonne in his ascentione,") whiche yt cannott have, those woordes gouinge two lynes before, and the pronowne (yo[u])

for *where* = *when*, as it often does.

But if you will read '*Ware* for *Where* the sunne,'

it," ed. 1598. In his 1602 ed. he rightly leaves out the 'is':

"Ware the sunne in his ascention,
Ne finde ye not repleate of humours hote."
Fol. 81, back, col. 2, lines 10, 11.

All the *Six-Text* MSS. read (with different spellings) 'Ware the sonne / in his ascension,' Group B, l. 4146, 'ware' meaning 'beware of.' l. 4147 is in the *A* MSS. 'Ne fynde yow nat repleet of humours hoote.'

[1] The fair Pertelote. [2] Chanticlere.

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interposed betwene the same and that his corelatyve (yt). wherfore these woordes, ("for yf yt doe,") must nedes stande as they did before, thoughe yo^{u} will correcte "where the sonne &c." and saye "ware the sonne &c." *whi*che yf yo^{u} will nedes haue, yo^{u} must correcte the rest in this sorte : you must alter

> Ware the sonne in his ascentione,
> that yt fynde yo^{u} not repleat of humors hotte,
> for yf yt do, &c. the next line (as the A MSS. do).

*But this correct*i*one (savinge, as I sayed, correct*i*one) semethe not so good as the former texte. [* *leaf* 42, *back*]

Fol: 86. pa: 2. Vppon these woordes, ("lo, in the lyfe of Kenelme we reade,") yo^{u} saye that "Kenelme was sleyne by his sister Quenda,"[1] whiche sholde be Quendrida, as Williame of Malmsberye and Ingulphus[2] have. Whiche Quendrida dothe signyfye Quene Drida, as the author of the Antiquyties of Seint Albons and of the Abbottes thereof (supposed to be Mathewe Paris) dothe expounde yt. for that auctor, speakinge of the wyfe of Offa the greate kinge of Mercia (a wicked and proude womanne, because she was of the stocke of Charles the greate,) dothe saye, that she was called Drida, and beinge the king*es* wyfe was termed Quendrida, id est, Regina Drida. 86. You wrongly use *Quenda* for Queen Drida.

Fo: 87. p: 1. vppon these woordes of "Taurus was fortye degrees and one," yo^{u} saye that this place ys misprinted, aswell in not namynge of the sygne, as of the mysreckonynge of the degrees, *that the two and twentye of Marche the sonne is in Aries, and that but eleven degrees, or there-aboutes, and hathe in all but thirtye degrees. In whiche, in semynge to correcte the former printe (whiche in truthe deseruethe amendemente, but not in that order,) yo^{u} seme to mee to erre, 87. In your objection to 'Taurus was 41 degrees' (*Nun's Priest's Tale*, B, 4389), [* *leaf* 43] you mistake Chaucer's mean-

[1] "This Kenelmus, king of the Mercians, was innocently slaine by his sister Quenda, wherby he obtained the name of a martir." ed. 1598.

[2] His chronicle is held to be spurious.

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ing as far as heaven is from earth.

as farre as heauen and yerthe, in mystakinge Chaucers meaunynge and his woordes, aswell for the daye of the monthe, as for the signe. for where yo^{u} suppose that Chaucere meanethe the two and twentithe daye of Marche, yo^{u} mystake yt. for althoughe yt sholde be the 22 of the monthe, as the printed booke hathe; yet canne yt not be the 22 daye of Marche, but must of necessytye bee the two and twentythe of Aprille: and so the signe Taurus trulye named. But first I must saye, the nomber of the dayes are mysprinted, for where yt is twentye dayes and two, yt must be (and so are my written copyes) thirtye[1] dayes and two, whiche must be the seconde of Maye, as yo^{u} shall well see by the *woordes of Chaucer; for whether yowe recken thirtye two dayes, with the truthe, as hathe the written copye, or xxij dayes, withe the printe: yet must yo^{u} begynne to recken them from after the laste of Marche. for so dothe Chaucer, sayinge Marche was compleate, in these woordes:

The day Chaucer writes of was not March 22, but April 22 (or May 2),

[* *leaf* 43, *back. MS. repeats* by the]

for his 22 or 32 days must be reckond from the end of March,

> When the month in whiche the worlde began,
> That hight Marche, when God first made man,
> Was complete, and passed were also
> Since Marche byganne, &c.

Wherbye yo^{u} see, that yo^{u} must begynne to recken the nomber of dayes from the tyme of marche complete; and then wolde the signe fall oute to be in Taurus. yf yo^{u} holde yo^{u} to the printe (for the 22 daye after *mar*che, whiche is the 22 daye of Aprill, in whiche the sonne is aboute xi degrees in Taurus;) or to the written copye of thirtye two dayes, (*whi*che is the seconde of maye, at what tyme the sonne ys also aboute some xxi degrees in Taurus;) the signe is not *misreckoned or misnamed, as yo^{u} suppose. nether canne these woordes, "since Marche beganne," helpe yo^{u} to recken them from the begynnynge of Marche, (as yo^{u} seme to

when the sign would be in Taurus, whether you take 22 days (April 22) or 32.

[* *leaf* 44] So the sign is right,

[1] All the *Six-Text* MSS. have 'thirty,' in some spelling, or in figures. Group B, 4380, p. 293.

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doo;) because they muste answere and be agreable to the former wordes of Chaucer, whiche sayethe marche was complete; and, for that we sholde not dobte thereof, he addethe also farther, "And passed were also since Marche beganne": Where the worde "beganne" ys mysprinted for "be gonne," that is, since "marche be gonne," this word 'begonne' being put for 'is gonne,' or 'gonne bye, or departed.' so that the genuynaⱡⱡ sence hereof is, 'When marche was complete, and also were passed, since marche is gonne, or gonne bye, or departed.' for, in many olde inglyshe woordes, this syllable (be) is sett before to make yt moore signyficante and of force; as, for 'moone' we saye 'bemone,' for 'sprincled,' 'besprincled'; for 'dewed,' 'bedewed,' &c., as in this case, for 'gonne' ys sett downe 'begonne.' But althoughe there be no mysnamynge of the signe; yet yt is true *the degrees of the signes are mysrekoned, the error whereof grewe, because the degree of the signe, is made equaⱡⱡ with the degree of the sonne ascended aboue the Horizone, beinge at that tyme xli degrees in heighte from the Horizon. But to remedye aⱡⱡ this, and to correcte yt accordinge as Chaucer sett yt downe in myne and other written copies; and that yt may stande with aⱡⱡ mathematicaⱡⱡ proportione, whiche Chaucer knewe and obserued there, the printe must be corrected after those written copies (whiche I yet holde for sounde tiⱡⱡ I maye disprove them) havinge these woordes:

as you *must* reckon from the end of March.

'Beganne' is misprinted for 'begonne,' begun.

The force of the prefix *be-*.

But though the *sign* is right, [* *leaf* 44, *back*] the degrees of the sign are misreckond, or miswritten,

as my Chaucer MSS. show.

When that the month in whiche the worlde beganne,
that hight[e] Marche, when god first made manne,
Was complete, and passed were also,
Since marche begonne, thirty dayes and two: [4]
befill that Chanteclere in all his pride,
his seven Wiues walkinge him beside,
cast vppe his eyen to the bright[e] sonne,
that in the signe of Taurus had yronne [8]
Twentye degrees and one, & somewhat moore; [*leaf* 45]
& knewe by kynde, & by noone other loore,
That yt was pryme, and crewe with blisfull steven:

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the sonne, quod he, is clomben vp on heauen [12]
Fortye degrees and one, and moor, ywis, &c.

Thus, May 2 was the real day of which Chaucer wrote.

And that this sholde be mente xxxij dayes after Marche, and the seconde of Maye,[1] there be manye reasons, besides those that Chaucer namethe; whiche are, that the sonne was not farre from the middle of his ascention, and in the signe of Taurus.

38. Another mistake:

ffurther, since I ame nowe in Chanteclers discourse, I must speake of one woorde in the same, deservinge correction, which I see yo^{u} ouerslipped; and because I thinke yo^{u} knewe not what to make of yt, (as in dede by the printinge fewe menne canne vnderstande yt,) I will sett downe the correction of the same; beinge the worde "Mereturicke,"[2] farr corrupted for "Mercenricke," in saxone Mencenrÿke whiche is the kingdome of Mercia, for so was Kenelme the sonne, and Kenulphus the father, bothe kinges of Mercia; the one raignynge 36 yeres, and the other murdred by his sister Quendrida, as ys before noted. And that yt is the kingdome of Mercia, the etymone of the woorde dothe teache; for 'rÿk' in the saxone tonge signyfyethe a kingdome; 'mencen' signyfyethe markes, or boundes, or marches of Countryes, so that Mercenricke is 'regnum Merciæ,' or the kingdome of Mercia, or of

Your *Mereturicke* is a corruption of *Mercenricke*, or the kingdom of Mercia,

[* *leaf 45, back*]

or the marshes.

[1] The correctness of Thynne's argument, and of his correction of the old readings of *twenty* in line 4 above to *thirty;* and of *Fforty* in l. 9, to *Twentye* (which all the *Six-Text* MSS. have, B, 4335), is shown by Mr Brae in his edition of the *Astrolabe*, and Mr Skeat (who follows him) in his edition (E. E. T. Soc. and Chaucer Soc.), p. lxi, lxii. Only they make Thynne's 'second of Maye,' May 3, as "the whole of March, the whole of April, and two days of May, were done with." The time of day was, says Mr Brae, 'nine o'clock to the minute,' being 41 degrees. But the 'and moore' would make it a little after 9 A. M.

[2] Lo in the life of saint Kenelme we rede
That was Kenulphus sonne, the noble king
Of Mereturike.—ed. 1598; Mercenryke, ed. 1602.
Oddly enough, the Lansdowne MS., alone of the *Six-Text* ones, reads rightly 'Mercenrike.' The Cambridge has 'Merturyke'; the others 'Mertenrike,' the scribes mistaking *c* for *t*, two letters hardly differing in many MSS.

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the boundes, so called because almoste all the other kingdomes of the saxons bounded vppon the same, and that lykewise vppon them, since that kingdome dyd lye in the middle of England, and conteyned most of the shires thereof.

Fo: 90. pa: 2. for "pilloure" you will vs to reade "Pellure," signyfyinge furres.[1] but althoughe the Clergye ware furres, and some of them had their outewarde ornamentes thereof when they then came to their service, as the Chanons had theyre Grey amises; yet in this place, to shewe the prowde and stately ensignes of the Clergye, he there namethe the popes Crowne, and the Cardinalls pilloures, yf I be not deceued. for euery cardinall had, for *parte of his honorable ensignes borne before hym, certeine siluer pillers; as had cardinall Wolsey,[2] in the tyme of kinge Henrye the eighte, and Cardinall Poole, in my memory. So that 'pilloure' in that place is better then 'pellure,' because pilloures were a noote of moore pride and maiestye (against whiche the Plowmanne dothe enveye in those woordes,) then ys the weringe of furres.

39. Your *Pellure* = furs, for *pilloure* = pillars (Plowman's Spurious Tale) is wrong.

[* *leaf* 46] as Pillars of silver were borne before Cardinals.

Fo: 90. pa: 2. for these woordes, "withe change of many manner of meates," you wolde have vs reade, "they eate of manye manner of meates." Touchinge whiche, althoughe the sence stande well, yet suire Chaucer followethe this matter in manye staues together with this prepositione (cum, with) and this con-

40. I like best the old reading of "change of many manner of meates."

[1] In the spurious 'Plowmans Tale.'

And so should euery Christened be
Priests, Peters successours
Beth lowliche and of low degre
And vsen none earthly honours
Neither croune, ne curious couetours
Ne *pilloure*, ne other proude pall.—ed. 1598.
'*pillour*, ne other proud pall.'—ed. 1602.

[2] See Roy's Satire, and 'The Impeachment of Wolsey,' p. 340, note, and 360/256 of my 'Ballads from Manuscripts, I,' (Ballad Society).

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iunctione *let*. and :)—as, "with pride misledd[1] the poore, & with money filled manye a male, &c." so he contynuethe yt still with that preposytione, "with many change of meates"; *which*e ys as good as the other, for euerye one knowethe *Chaucers meanynge to be, that they eate of many meates, when they haue change of many meates; for whye sholde they haue change of meates, but for varyetye to please the palates tast in eatynge.[2] In the next staffe, for "myters moe then one or two") yo[u] teache vs to reade, "Myters they weare mo then one or two"; whiche, me thinkethe, nedethe not.[3] for the wearinge of their myters is included in these woordes, "and myters moore then one or twoe." *Which*e wordes are curteyled for the verse his cause, that the same mighte kepe one equall proportione and decorum in the verse, whiche wolde be lengthened one foote or sillable moore then the other verses, yf youre readinge sholde stande. But yf yo[u] saye, that in this and other thinges I ame ouerstreyghte laced, and to obstinatlye bente to defende the former printed editione,—in that I wolde rather allowe one imperfecte sence, and suche as must be vnderstoode, when yt ys not fully expressed, then a playne style,—*I will answere withe a grounde of the lawe, "quod frustra fit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora," and "quod subintelligitur non deest." wherefore yt is nedelesse to make that playner by additione of woordes, when yt maye be aswell conceyued in any reasonable mens vnderstandinge without suche additione. But in these

[* *leaf* 46, *back*]

41. I prefer also the old reading of "myters more than one or two"

for the sake of the metre.

[* *leaf* 47]

Your addition is needless for any reasonable man.

[1] The 1542 edition of William Thynne (Francis's father), in which the Plowmans Tale was first printed, reads 'punyshed.' Speght in 1598 reads 'punished,' and in 1602 'punisheth.'

[2] Speght leaves the reading 'With chaunge of many manner meates' in his 1602 ed., as it was in his 1598, and in William Thynne's of 1542.

[3] Accordingly Speght leaves it 'And miters mo than one or two' in his 1602 ed., as it stands in his 1598, and in Wm. Thynne's of 1542.

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and suche petit matters, I will not nowe longe insiste, (being thinges of no greate momente,) vntill I haue further examyned moore written copyes, to trye whether wee shall reade the olde texte or your newe Correctione.

Fo. 122 : pa. 2. "The lordes sonne of Windsore.") Vppon these woordes yo^{u} saye, 'this maye seme strange, bothe in respecte that yt is not in the frenche, as also for that there was no lorde Windsore at those dayes.' But yt semethe to me moore strange that these woordes sholde seme strange to yo^{u}, not to bee in the frenche, where yo^{u} shall fynde them. for thus hathe the frenche *written Romante, as maye appere in the olde frenche vsed at the tyme when the Romante was composed, in this sorte :

42. You say that 'The lordes sonne of Windsore' is not in the French Roman de la Rose.

But it *is* there; only it's spelt 'Guindesores.'

[* *leaf* 47, *back*]

Pris a Franchise lez alez,
Ne sai coment est apelles,
Biaus est et genz, se il fust ores
Fuiz au segn*s*ur de Guindesores :

Whiche is thus Englished : 'next to Franchise went a yonge Bacheler, I knowe not howe he was called, he was fayre and gentle, as yf he had bynne sonne to the lorde of Windsore' : where in olde frenche this woorde 'fuiz' (vsed here, as in manye places of that Booke,) is placed for that whiche wee wryte and pronounce at this daye for 'filz' or 'fitz,' in Englishe, 'sonne.' and that yt is here so mente, yo^{u} shall see in the Romante of the Roose turned into proese, moralized, by the frenche Molinet, and printed at Paris in the yere 1521, who hathe the same verses in theese woordes in proese. 'A Franchise s'estoit, prins vn ieune Bacheler, de qui ne scay le nome, fors bell, en son temps filz du *seigneure de Guindesore.' Whiche yo^{u} mighte have well seene, had yo^{u} but remembered their orthographie, and that the latyne, Italiane, frenche, and spanyshe haue no doble W, as the Dutche, the Englishe, and suche as

It is also in Molinet's prose moralization of the *Rose*, A.D. 1521.

[* *leaf* 48]

This you'd have seen, had you re-collected that Latin and Romance use *gu* for our *w*.

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haue affynytye with the Dutche, since they vse for doble W (a letter comone to vs) these two letters 'Gu,' as in 'Gulielmus,' whiche we wryte 'Willielmus'; in 'Guerra,' whiche we call and writte 'warre'; in 'Gualterus,' whiche we write 'Walter'; in 'Guardeine,' w*hi*che we pronounce and write 'Wardeyne'; and suche lyke; accordinge to whiche, in the frenche yt is 'Guindesore' for 'Windesore.' for your other coniectures, whye that Chaucer shold inserte the loordes sonne of Windesore, they are of [no] great momente; neque adhuc constat that Chaucer translated the Romante, whene Windsore Castle was in buildinge. for then I suppose that Chaucer was but yonge; whereof I wyll not stande at this tyme, no moore then I will that there was no *lord Windsore in those dayes; althoughe I suppose that sir Williame Windsore, being then a worthye .knighte, and of great auctorytye in Englande, and in the partes beyonde the seas vnder the kinge of Englande, mighte be lorde Windesore, of whome the Frenche tooke notice, beinge in those partes, and by them called 'seigneure de Windesore,' as euery gouernour was called 'seigneure' emongest them. But whether he were a Baron or no in Englande, I cannott yet saye, because I haue not my booke of somons of Barons to parliamente in my handes at this instante.

As to your other guesses,

I need not dwell on them.

[* *leaf* 48, *back*. *MS repeats* 'no']

If there was no Lord Windsore, there was a Sir William Windsore,

and him the French calld 'seigneure de Windesore.'

Fo: 171: pa. 2. "by ordall," &c. Vppone whiche you write thus: "ordalia is a tryall of chastytye, throughe the fyre,—as did Emma, mother of the Confessor,—or ells over hoote burnynge cultors of yrone barefotte, as did Cunegunde, &c." But in this describinge defyniti*o*ne, you have comytted manye imperfect*i*ons. first, that ordell was a tryall by fyre, w*hi*che is but a species of the ordell; for ordalium was a tryall by fyre and water: secondlye, that *yt was a tryall of Chastytye, whiche was but parcell thereof; for the

48. Your definition of 'ordeal' is bad. It was not trial by fire only, but also by water; not for chastity only, but for many other matters.

[* *leaf* 49]

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ordale was a tryaℍ for manye other matters. Thirdlye, yoᵘ saye yt was by goinge throughe the fyer. when the fyerye ordale was onlye by goinge one hoote shares or cultores, or by holdinge a hoote pece of yrone in the hande, and not goinge throughe the fyer. forthlye, that Emma, mother to Edwarde the confessor, receued this tryaℍ by goinge through the fyer: But she passed not throughe the fyer—as yoᵘ bringe her fore one example of your ordale—but passed barefotte vppone nyne burnynge shares, fowre for her selfe, and fyve for Alwyne, Bishoppe of Winchester, with whome she was suspected with Incontynencye; whiche hystorye yoᵘ maye see at large in Ranulphus Higden, in his policronicone li. 6. ca. 23, and in other auctors; of whiche ordale I colde make a longe and no commone discourse,— of the manner of consecratinge the fyer and water, howe yt was vsed emongest the saxons before, and *the normans since, the Conqueste, and of manye other thinges belonging vnto yt,—but I wiℍ passe them ouer, and only deliuer to yoᵘ a thinge knowen to fewe, howe this ordale was contynued in Englande in the tyme of kinge Iohane, as apperethe in Claus. 17. Iohannis, m. 25, vntiℍ yt was taken awaye by the courte of Rome; and after that, in Englande, by the auctorytye of kinge Henrye the thirde, whereof yoᵘ shaℍ fynde this recorde in the towre, Patente, 3. H: 3: mem. 5, where yt speakethe of iudgmente and tryaℍ by fyer and water to be forbydden by the Churche of Roome, and that yt sholde not be vsed here in Englande; as apperethe by these woordes of that recorde: "Illis vero qui mediis criminibus vectati sunt, et quibus competeret iudicium ignis vel aquæ, si non esset prohibitum, et de quibus si regnum nostrum abiurarent, nulla fieret postea, maleficiendi suspitio, regnum nostrum abiurent," &c.

The fiery ordeal was by going *on* hot shares and culters, not going *through* the fire.

The mother of Edward Confessor

passt barefoot *over* nine burning shares.

I *could* make a long discourse on this,

[* *leaf 49, back. MS repeats* 'and']

but will only say that the ordeal lasted here till 17 John, A.D. 1215-16,

till it was taken away by the court of Rome, and after, in England, by Henry III., A.D. 1218-19.

Fo. 246: pa. 1. speakinge of the storke, yoᵘ saye *that Chaucers woordes "wreaker of adulterye" sholde

44. Your correction of 'bewrayer' for 'wreaker' in [* *leaf 50*]

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the *Parlament of Foules*, st. 52, l. 361,

rather bee "bewrayer of Adulterye"; whiche in truthe, accordinge to one propryetye of his nature, may be as

is possible, but not good,

yo^{u} saye, but accordinge to one other propryetye of his nature, yt sholde bee "the wreaker of Adulterye," as

for the stork wreaks the adultery of his own mate,

Chaucer hathe; for he ys a greater wreaker of the adulterye of his owne kynde and female, then the bewrayer of the adulterye of one other kynde, and of his hostesse, one the toppe of whose howse he harborethe. for Aristotle sayethe, & Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum li. 12. cap. 8.[1] with manye other auctors, that yf the storke by anye meanes perceve that his female hath brooked spousehedde, he will no moore dwell with her, but strykethe, and so cruelly beateth her, that he will not surcease vntill he hathe killed her yf he maye, to wreake and reuenge that adulterye.

as Aristotle and Bartholomæus witness,

§ VI. *Six more Mistakes.*

[*VI. Five more Mistakes of Speght's, and then one more.*]

These and suche lyke, in my conceyte, are woorthye to be touched in your Annotacions, besides other

[^{a} *leaf* 50, *back. MS repeats* 'whereof']

matters whiche yo^{u} haue not handled; whereof ^{a}(because tyme requyrethe after all this tedious treatyce to drawe to one ende) I will not nowe entreate; but onlye speake a litle moore of fyve especiall thinges, woorthye the animadversione; of whiche the fyrste ys,

1. The Plowman's Tale is wrongly placed by you.

that yo^{u} make the plowmans tale to goo next before the persons tale, suffering the persons corrupted prologue to passe withe this begynnynge, "By that the plowmanne had his tale ended," when all written

[1] "while the female liueth, the male accompanieth not with another with seruice of Venus, but keepeth truely to hir in neast, and in office of generation. And if the male espieth in any wise *that* the female hath broke spousehood, she shall no more dwell with him, but he beateth and striketh hir with his bill, and slaieth hir if he may, as *Aristo* saith."—Batman vppon Bartholome, leaf 181, col. 2, and back, col. 1, ed. 1582: it is Trevisa's translation, the same words, with slight differences of spelling; see Berthelet's edition (A.D. 1535), leaf clxviii, col. 1. See Bp. Stanley's *Hist. of Birds*, 6th ed. p. 322.

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copies, (whiche I colde yet see,) and my fathers edytione, haue yt, "By that the mancyple[1] had his tale ended." And because my father colde not see by anye prologues of thee other tales, (whiche for the most parte shewe the dependancye of one tale vppone one other,) where to place the plowmans tale, he putt yt after the persons tale,[2] whiche, by Chaucers owne woordes, was the laste tale; as apperethe by the persons prologue, where the hooste sayethe, that 'euerye 'manne had tolde his Tale before.' So that the plowmans tale must be sett in some other place before the manciple and persons tale, and not as yt ys in the last editione.

My father put it after the Parson's Tale.

[* leaf 51]

One other thinge ys, that yt wolde be good that Chaucers proper woorkes were distinguyshed from the adulterat, and suche as were not his, as the Testamente of Cressyde, The Letter of Cupide, and the ballade begynnynge "I haue a ladye, where so she bee," &c. whiche Chaucer never composed, as may suffyciently be proued by the things them selues.[3]

2. Chaucer's own works should be distinguisht from those adulterate, and not his.

The thirde matter ys, that in youre epistle dedicatorye to Sir Roberte Cecille, yo[u] saye, "This Booke,

3. There were three editions of Chaucer before

[1] This shows that the Christchurch manuscript (which reads 'yeoman') and the Rawl. Misc. MS. 1133 (which reads 'marchant', by mistake for 'franklin',) had not passt through Francis Thynne's hands—or his father's, we may conclude.

[2] The Prologue to this 'Complaint of the Ploughman' forms, I think, no part of the poem as originally written. See it in Appendix III here, p. 101. Mr Thomas Wright reprinted the 'Complaint' from Speght's edition of 1602 (instead of the undated one by Godfray (ab. 1532-35), or Thynne's of 1542) for the Rolls Series, in *Political Poems*, i. 304—346.

[3] Assuredly. And although Francis Thynne has been maintaining his father's edition against Speght, he shows his judgment here, in repudiating as Chaucer's, the 'Testament of Creseyde,' and Hoccleve's 'Letter of Cupyde,' which his father included in both his editions of 1532 and 1542. Stowe in 1561 first printed (Fol. cccxliiij) the spurious "*A balade pleasaunt:* I haue a Ladie where so she bee .... Explicit the discriuyng of a faire Ladie," with "O Mossie Quince," &c. &c. Stowe, however, was the first who printed the genuine "Chaucers woordes vnto his owne Scriuener," Fol. cccIv, back, in his edition of 1561.

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my father (William Thynne) dedicated his to Henry VIII.

whene yt was first published in printe, was dedicate to kinge Henrye the eighte." But that is not soo.[1] for the firste dedicatione to that kinge was by mye father, when diuerse of Chaucers woorkes had byn thrise[2]

[1] Yes, surely it is. Speght meant Chaucer's 'Workes,' the *collected* edition, first made by William Thynne, which was the basis of his own edition. Wm. Thynne's dedication is reprinted in all the old editions, 1542 (1550), 1561, 1598, 1602, 1687, and 1721.

Early editions of Chaucer's Works.

[2] Only one edition of Chaucer's *Works* had been publisht before the date of Thynne's, 1532, and that was Pynson's in 1526, without a general title, but containing three parts, with separate signatures, and seemingly intended to sell separately; 1. the boke of Caunterbury tales; 2. the boke of Fame .. with dyuers other of his workes [Assemble of Foules, La belle Dame, Morall Prouerbes]; 3. the boke of Troylus and Cryseyde. But of separate works of Chaucer before 1532, the following had been publisht:

Early editions of his separate Poems.

Canterbury Tales. 1. Caxton, ab. 1477-8, from a poor MS.; 2. Caxton, ab. 1483, from a better MS.; 3. Pynson, ab. 1493; 4. Wynkyn de Worde, 1498; 5. Pynson, 1526.

Book of Fame. 1. Caxton, ab. 1483; 2. Pynson, 1526.

Troylus. 1. Caxton, ab. 1483; 2. Wynkyn de Worde, 1517; 3. Pynson, 1526.

Parlement of Foules.[3] 1. Caxton, ab. 1477-8; 2. Pynson, 1526; 3. Wynkyn de Worde, 1530.

Gentilnesse[3] (in Scogan's poem). 1. Caxton, ab. 1477-8.

Truth[3] (The good counceyl of chawcer; 'Fle ye fro þ^e^ presse'). 1. Caxton, ab. 1477-8.

Fortune[3] (Balade of the vilage without peyntyng). 1. Caxton, ab. 1477-8.

Envoy to Skogan.[3] 1. Caxton, ab. 1477-8 (all lost, after the 3rd stanza).

Anelida and Arcyte.[4] 1. Caxton, ab. 1477-8.

Purse[4] (The compleynt of chaucer vnto his empty purse). 1. Caxton, ab. 1477-8.

Mars; Venus; Marriage (Bukton). 1. Julian Notary, 1499-1502.

Wm. Thynne's editions.

After Thynne's first edition of the *Works* in 1532 (printed by Thomas Godfray), came his second (for John Reynes and Wyllyam Bonham) in 1542, to which he added the 'Plowman's Tale' *after* the Parson's.

The booksellers' editions.

Then came a reprint for the booksellers (Wm. Bonham, R. Kele, T. Petit, Robert Toye) about 1550, which put the Plowman's Tale *before* the Parson's. This was followd by an edition in 1561 for the booksellers (Ihon Kyngston; Henry Bradsha, citizen and grocer of London; &c.), to which, when more than half printed, Stowe contributed some fresh pieces, the spurious *Court of Love*, Lydgate's *Sege of Thebes*, and other poems. Next came Speght's edition of 1598—on which Francis Thynne comments

[3] All in one little volume in the Cambridge University Library (and the British Museum).—See my *Trial-Forewords*, p. 116-117.

[4] In one quire at Cambridge.—See my *Trial-Forewords*, p. 118.

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printed before; whereof two editions were by Wil*l*iam Caxtone, the fyrste printer of Englande, *who first printed Chaucers tales in one colume in a ragged letter, and after in one colume in a better order; and the thirde edit*i*one was printed, as farre as I remember, by winkine de word or Richarde Pynson, the seconde and thirde printers of Englande, as I take them. Whiche three edit[i]ons beinge verye imperfecte and corrupte, occasioned my father (for the love he oughte to Chawcers lernynge) to seeke the augmente and correct*i*one of Chawcers Woork*es*, w*h*iche he happely fynyshed; the same beinge, since that tyme, by often printinge muche corrupted. of this matter I sholde have spooken fyrst of all, because yt is the fyrste imperfect*i*one of youre peynfull and comendable labors: yet because the prouerbe ys "better late then never," I holde yt better to speake of yt here then not at all.

[* *leaf* 51, *back*]

The first editions being very corrupt, my father (William Thynne) augmented and corrected them.

The fourthe thinge ys, that, in the catalogue of the auctors, yo^{u} haue omytted manye auctors vouched by chawcer; and therefore dyd rightlye intitle yt, 'moost,' *and not all, 'of the auctors cyted by geffrye Chawcer.'

4. You have omitted many authors voucht by Chaucer.

[* *leaf* 52]

The fyfte matter ys in the Romante of the Roose, fo. 144; that this worde 'Haroldes,' in this verse,

My kinge of Haroltes shalte thow bee,

muste, by a mathesis or transpositione of *the* letters, be Harlotes, and not Harolt*es*, and the verse thus,

My kinge of Harlottes shalt thow bee.

5. Your reading 'Haroltes,' in the *Rose*, should be 'Harlottes.'

And so ys yt in the edit*i*one of Chawcers Work*es*, printed in anno Domini 1542, accordinge to the frenche moralizat*i*one of Molinet, fo. 149, where he is called "Roye des Ribauldez," w*h*iche is, 'the kinge of Ribaldes,

Molinet renders it 'Ribalds.'

in his *Animadversions*—which added the spurious 'Dreme,' and 'Flower & Leaf.' This was followed by Speght's 2nd edition in 1602, in which Francis Thynne helpt him, and to which were added Chaucer's 'A B C,' and the spurious Jack Upland. (Jack Upland had been before printed, with Chaucer's name on the title-page, about 1536-40 (London, J. Gough, no date, 8vo).—H. B.)

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The king of Ribalds or Harlottes was an officer of great account in times past.

or Harlottes,' or euiH or wicked persons; one officer of greate accompte in tymes paste, and yet vsed in the courte of France, but by one other name, in some parte beinge the office of the marshaH of Englande. AH whiche, because yo^{u} shaH not thinke I dreame, (thoughe yt may seme strange to the ignorante to haue so greate one officer intituled *of suche base persons as to be called 'kinge or gouernor of Ribauldes,') yo^{u} shaH here Iohannes Tyllius (in his seconde Booke de rebus gallicis, vnder the title de Prefecto pretorio Regis) confirme in these woordes: "In domesticis Regum constitutionibus, quos proximo capite nominavimus, fit mentio Regis Ribaldorum, officii domestici, quem semper oportet stare extra Portam pretorii," &c. and a litle after the explanynge of their office, he addethe: "sic autem appellantur, quia iam tum homines perditi Ribaldi, et Ribaldæ, mulieres puellæque perditæ, vocantur. Regis nomen superiori aut Iudici tribuitur. Quemadmodum magnus Cubicularius dicitur Rex Mercatorum," &c. Where he makethe this "Regem Ribaldorum" an honorable officer for manye causes, as Vincentius Luparius in his fyrste booke of the magistrates of france dothe also, vnder the title of "Rex Ribaldorum et prouostus Hospitii"; makinge the Iudex pretorianus, and this Rex Ribaldorum or Prouostus hospitii, *to seme aH one, addinge further (after manye other honorable partes belonginge to this office) that "meretricibus aulicis hospitia assignare solebat." In whiche pointe, bothe for orderinge and correctinge the harlottes and eviH persons followinge the courte of Englande, (whiche is the dutye of the marshaH,) the frenche and wee agree. Wherfore, touchinge that parte, yo^{u} shaH here some what of the marshalls office sett downe and founde in the Customes whiche Thomas of Brothertonne (sonne to kinge Edwarde the fyrste) challenged to his office of marshalcye; where, emongest

[* *leaf* 52, *back*]

Johannes Tyllius makes mention of a Rex Ribaldorum.

Also Vincentius Luparius makes him an honourable officer.

[* *leaf* 53. *MS repeats* 'Hospitii']

The Rex Ribaldorum was like our Marshall.

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other thinges, are these woordes: "eorum (*whi*che was of the marshalls deputyes executinge that he shold ells do hym selfe) interest virgatam à meretricibus prohibere, et deliberare, et habet ex consuetudine mariscallus, ex quâlibet meritrice com[m]uni infra metas hospitii inventa—iiijd. primo die. Que, si iterum inventa in Balliuâ suâ Inveniatur, capiatur; et coram seneschallo inhibeantur ei hospitia Regis et Reginæ *et liberorum suorum, ne iterum ingrediatur," &c. And so afterwarde shewethe what shalbe donne to those wemen, yf they be founde agayne in the kinges courte, in suche sorte, that, as by Tillius, this Rex Ribaldorum his auctorytye was ouer 'homines perditos, mulieres puellasque perditas.' And that yt was, by Lupanus, to assigne to Ribaldes lodginge oute of the courte, (for so modestye willethe vs to vnderstande, because they sholde not offende and infecte the courte with their sighte and manners). So ys yt oure Marshalls office, to banyshe those harlottes the courte, and bestowe them in some other place, where they might be lesse annoyance. Wherefore I conclude with the frenche, and the former editione of Chaucer in the yere of Christe 1542,[1] that 'false semblance' was of righte to be made kinge of Harlottes, and not of Haroldes, who wolde mightely be offended to haue them holden of the conditions of 'false semblance'.[2]

It is the English Marshall's duty to keep harlots out of the court.

[* *leaf* 53, *back*]

Thus the Rex Ribaldorum

and our Marshall have like powers over harlots.

And I (a future Herald) am sure the Heralds would be mightily offended to be thought like False Semblance.

Nowe here be nugæ in the Romante of the Roose:

[1] William Thynne's second publisht edition,—not counting the first cancelld one, if that ever really existed: see p. 75-6.

[2] Speght says in his glossary, or rather "The hard words of Chaucer explaned," in his 1602 edition: "*Harrolds*, fol. 144, whereas in some bookes it is, 'my king of Harrolds shalt thou bee'; it is now corrected thus (my king of Harlots shalt thou bee.) For so it is in the French Moralization of Molinet 149, where hee is called *Roi des Ribaulds*, which is, the king of harlots, or wicked persons: an office of great account in times past, and yet vsed in the court of Fraunce. Of this office speaketh *Iohannes Tillius* in his second booke *De rebus Gallicis*, vnder the title *De Præfecto pretorio Regis*. But more hereof when time shall serue in M. F. Thins comment."

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[* *leaf* 54] 6. Your reading 'Minoresse,' in the *Romaunt of the Rose*,

I cannotte (as *the proverbe ys) take my hand from the table, (fyndinge so manye ouersyghtes in the twoe last editiones,[1]) but must speake of one thinge moore, deservinge Correctione, in these woordes of the Romante, fo. 116 of the last impressione:

Amide saw I hate stonde,
That for wrothe and yre & onde
Semed to be a minoresse;

should be 'Moueresse,' a mover or stirrer of debate,

Where this woorde 'Minoresse' sholde bee 'Moueresse,' signyfyinge 'a mover or styrrer to debate'; for these be the frenche verses in the oldest written copye that euer was (to be founde in Englande, yf my coniecture fayle me not,) by the age of the frenche woordes, whiche are these:

as Hate is calld in the French original.

Enz euz le milieu vi hayne,
qui de courouz et datayn
Sembla bien estre moueresse
et courouse et tencerresse.

Beinge thus englyshed, as of righte they oughte, accordinge to the frenche:

[* *leaf* 54, *back*]

Amyde, sawe I hate stonde,
that of wrathe and yre & onde
semed well to be moouueresse,
one Angry wighte, & chyderesse.

Molinet, in his later version, also calls Hate a Ducteresse or leader.

Whiche woord 'mooveresse,' the learned molinet, in his moralizatione of that Romant, dothe turne into 'Ducteresse,' a leader or leadresse, so that they agree yt shoulde not be a 'minoresse,' but a 'mooveresse' or leadresse of and to anger and yre; anye of whose woordes will as well, and rather better, fytt the sence and verse of Chaucer, and better answere the frenche originall and meanynge, than the incerted woorde 'Minoresse.'

Your 'Minoresse' is wrong.

Take my criticisms in good part,

Thus hoopinge that yo^u^ will accepte in good and frendlye parte, these my whatsoeuer conceytes vttered

[1] No doubt, before Speght's of 1598, namely, Stowe's of 1561, and the booksellers' of about 1550.

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vnto yo^{u}, (to the ende Chawcers Woorkes by muche conference and manye iudgmentes mighte at leng[t]he obteyne their true perfectione and glorye,—as I truste they shall, yf yt please godde *to lende me tyme and leysure to reprinte, correcte, and comente the same, after the manner of the Italians, who have largelye comented Petrarche ;)—I sett ende to these matters ; comyttinge yo^{u} to god, and me to your Curtesye. Farewell!

that Chaucer's Works may attain perfection:

as I trust they will, if I can edit [* *leaf* 55] them.

Clerkenwell Greene, the

xvi of december 1599.

Your lovinge frende,

FRANCIS THYNNE.

·/· / ·/ ·/

Mr Bradshaw's note on William Thynne's cancelld one-column edition of Chaucer's Works.

"I THINK the discovery of the long-missing Douce fragment has settled, for good and all, the confusion which Francis Thynne has fallen into about his father's editions. The supposed cancelled edition by William Thynne is a fiction. It is described as having one column on a side, and containing the *Pilgrim's Tale*. Tyrwhitt has shown conclusively that this Tale cannot have been *written* before 1536; and it is clear that the book, of which the Douce fragment is a part, must have contained Chaucer's name on the title-page, and was probably printed shortly before 1540 (when Bale was exiled), or Bale would not have included among Chaucer's Works *De curia Veneris*, lib. 1, 'In Maio cum virescerent,' &c.; and *Narrationes diversorum*, tract. 1, 'In comitatu Lyncolniensi,' &c.

"Please remember that Bale went into exile in 1540, and that the first edition of his *Scriptores*, in which these appear, was printed at Wesel in 1548, on his return journey to England. This limits

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the date pretty well to 1536—1540. In that edition the two items occur in quite different parts of his list; but in the later and fuller edition of 1557 the items come thus, after enumerating the contents of Thynne's editions:—

De curia Veneris. Lib. 1. In Maio cum virescerent, &c.

Epigrammata quoque. Lib. 1. Fuge multitudinem, veri. [Fle from the presse.—H. B.]

Narrationes diversorum. Lib. 1. In comitatu Lyncolniensi fuit.

"If Mr Bright's fragment of the *beginning* of a later edition of the 'Court of Venus' is forthcoming (see Hazlitt's *Handbook*), you will probably find that it begins '*In Maio cum virescerent*' . . . at least with the English equivalent of those words.[1] Bale must have seen the book, or he could not have given us the *incipits*. It must (I think) have borne Chaucer's name on the title-page, or Bale would not have put it among Chaucer's works. It must have been printed after 1536 (see Tyrwhitt) and before 1540 (when the exile took place); and so it may be possible that Thynne thought of including it in his 1542 edition, but was prevented through Bonner's or Gardiner's influence, not Wolsey's, which would put the matter into a wholly different period.

"Remember that W. Thynne died (very soon after Francis Thynne was born) in 1546, and that, the report reaching Francis Thynne through the recollections of Sir John Thynne of many years previous, it is not wonderful that there should be some confusion. Francis Thynne, too, tells us that he had never seen the one-column edition himself. The result is, that I am convinced that the one-column edition of Chaucer with the *Pilgrim's Tale* can only mean the 4to *Court of Venus*, &c., printed between 1536 and 1540, which Bale saw. Whether the Douce and Bright fragments are parts of the original edition, or of the reprint licensed to Hen. Sutton in 1557, or to a later edition still, I cannot say,[2] and it does not very much matter for our purpose; as Bale's evidence, coupled with Tyrwhitt's statement, narrows the limit of printing to 4 or 5 years."

[1] This Bright fragment is at Britwell, and Mr W. Christie-Miller has been good enough to inform me that the first poem in it begins with

In the moneth of May, when the new tender grene
Hath smothly couered the ground that was bare

as Mr Bradshaw expected. Mr W. Christie-Miller adds: "Chaucer's name I do not see upon the sheet, nor any trace of the name of the author." But see Chaucer's name in the Douce fragment of the book, p. 98, l. 740, below.

[2] The dropt lines and misprinted words show the Douce fragment to be part of some reprint.

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APPENDIX I.

THE *PILGRIM'S TALE* (?1536-40), p. 7-8.

[*From the reprinted* Courte of Venus, *Douce Fragments*, 92 *b*.]

The pylgrymse tale. [*leaf* xxxi, *back*]

¶ In lincolneshyr, fast by the fene, — In Lincolnshire is the old Abbey
ther stant a hows, and you yt ken,
and callyd sempynham of religion; — of Sempringham.
and is of an old foundation,
buyldyt full many ayer ago,
to helpe sowllis out of there payn and wo,—
or ellis tho beyn begyled,
at whos cost such houses were byld;—
but there I was, as fortune showpe,
a-fore I ouer the fen toke
toward walsingham apon my pelgrymag. — In my pilgrimage to Walsingham,
I had caght in myn hed suche a dotag, — (I car'd more for the outing than saint-seeking,)
that the gren gat I had more delit to folow
then of deuotion to seke the halowe; — [*leaf* xxxii]
& at this town were as this hows stant,
of good lodgyng we can non want;
but in myn In or euer I to my cace, [toke my eace] — I stopt at Sempringham, walkt about it,
to walke about, it did me best pleace,
ouer a brydg, throrow a gren meyd,
where I might behold in euery sted
the greate buyldyng of this obbey, — and lookt at the Abbey, with its lead-rooft buildings, and
strong ynoghe, toughe it were not gay.
the houses of office on and other,
where-on of leyd lay many a fowther,

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wer well I-bylt, & of a great costag;
and forther with-out, as is the vsag,
its barns and stables, about the cowrt the barns of great strenghe
wer bylt, and the stablys in lenghe
were wyd and fayr and comly for to se,
though they were not so well kept-up as when men saue sum thing in ruin—as thought me—
th[e]y were I-fall, & not so well vphold
as th[e]y had beyn by other days old,
workt for their bread. whan for there bred men vsed to swynk,
and erne ther met or that they drynk,
as austen wrytys to them in heremo,
& wold suche brethren shold do so;
Husbandmen must not say 'Go!' but 'Now let *us* go!' for he that by husb*a*ndry wyll tryue & the,
must not trust in "go!" but in "now goe we!"
The Bernardines workt more than the Benedictines. therfore the labourers, tho monk barnardyns,
came in reproffe of the benedictins.
then was good housses and hospytalite,
and they estemyd for men of honeste;
for then th[e]y wroght & labouryd *with* ther hand,
Of old, monks had simple food, & fed *with* suche they gat or suche as they fand.
ner was not as the bord seruid with couerd mese;
suche super-fluyte was had for nedles.
ner at tho days there was no suche presumption
little presumption, and few masses, that thorow there prayer there shold be rede*m*ption;
ner of massys no suche multitude,
for, of 100 monks, for a-mongst an hundreth—this is of certitude—
of thes religyuse brethr*en*, as I can red,
only 3 were priests. where skarse .ii. prestes out of dred.
benet, which was an holy man,
St Benedict was no priest, but a worker. was a brother & no pryst, as I here can,
& gat his lyuyng with labour of his hand:
tho days obediens in religion was fand.
So was St Francis. Francis was no prest, but callid hi*m* selue a brother,
which, working, taught no man to be a begger;
Begging is against God's bidding. for yf that he had taught beggyng,
then had he done agaynst godis byding,

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and agaynst the order of charyte,
excepd they be hold blynd, lame, or sykly.
but as I wanderyd here to and fro, — As I walkt about,
from place to place, alon as I dyd go,
loking on the old and antyk bulding, — at length I heard a buzzing,
in myn eyr behynd I herde a bussinge;
& for at the fyrst I dyd him not se, — [*leaf* xxxiii
I thought yt had beyn the dran be, — like that of a drone-bee.
that out of the hyue is dryuen for ydelnes:
& then it was a brother in his holynes,
which of the hous was sum officer— — It came from an officer of the
be-lyke the bowcer or the tresurer, — Abbey, perhaps the Bursar,
or sum rowm ellis I thinke he had,—
a solome man, that small chere made. — a solemn man,
it was not met to suche a man as he — that (like Chaucer's Friar) wouldn't know
to take acquantans in low degre, — low folk,
except it were a knyght[1] or a lord,
that mor to his appetyd dyd accord;
then could he fation in the best wyce
many a deynte[2] dyche in seruys,
and handell him-selue full fayr at his table, — behav'd well at table,
and therto had men seruychable,
that low on kne, with keuering of his cupe,
cwold saue his clothis from fallinge any drope.
the cronikis old from kynge Arthur — could recite the Chronicles, from King Arthur's time,
he could reherse, and of his founder
tell full many a whorthy story.
wher this man walked, there was no farey — and blesst away all the fairies and spirits.
ner other spiritis, for his blessynges
& munbling of his holy thinges
did vanquyche them from euery buch and tre:
there is no nother incubus but he;
for chaucer sathe, in the sted of the quen elfe, — For, as Chaucer says, in the Wife of Bath's Tale, D, 874, when Incubus fled,
['Ther walketh now the lymytour himself;']
for whan that the incubus dyd fle,

[1] *orig.* knynght [2] *orig.* denyte

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he left 7 worse demons behind him,

yt was to bringe .vii. worse than he;
& that is the cause there beyn now no fareys
in hallis, bowris, kechyns, ner deyris.

even these holy friars,

thes holy men beyn thus about sperd,
thorow all this lond, in euery sled:

of whom each wears the distinctive dress of his order,

of there awn retenue they weare the differens,
to whom they haue professyd there obediens;
for euere valeant and worthy warryor,
perde is known by his cote armor;
there-for this men known must be

the man he's vowd to.

by differens, to whom they haue vowyd there chastite.
what rekis them, the sayng of paull,
which wylnith 'to men we shall not call'?
we ought not playn, by there theachyng,[1]
to gyue credens ner red suche wryting;
suffisyth ynoghe to ther dome,
to do as our elders haue don;
to mok & dissayue men of there lyuelod,

They make men believe in their brotherhoods instead of in Christ.

in making beleue in thece brother-hod,
wher we shold only beleue in christis name,—
as we be taught of the churche our dam,—
ner a-mo[n]gst our selues to haue suche sectis,
which the innocent people sore infectis,
deuyding christ as in-sufficient,
to simple wyttis a great incomberment.

[*leaf* xxxiiii] The Pied Friars wear magpie colours; some go barefoot; some shoed.

in dyuerse colors flekyd lyke a pye,
sum gurd with ropis to seme holy;
sum go barfot, & sum go showd,
& euere secte hath a straunge God,
to whom they teache the people to call.

They agree only in wearing a hood. They envy one another.

in this on they aggre,—they be hodyt all,
& ellis, euere on other doth deny,
amongst them-selue[2] ther is suche enuy:

The Dominicans hold up their Doctor, Thomas Aquinas, as a better divine than the Franciscan Duns Scotus.

the dominikis hold vp thomas the aquin,
that then douns he shold be better deuyne;

[1] *orig.* cheaching [2] *orig.* felue

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& the minors agayn with hasty breth
defendis douns euen to the deth;
tha carmell[i]tes haue set vp albert;
the hermytes with austen takis part,
greatly requyring to gyue him the fame,
but not to folow, but only his name,
wher-with the chanons can not agre,
but clamis him of there relygion to be.
& yet amongst them there is dispyt,
sum goth in blak, and sum in whyt;
the whyt refusis the blak for his brother,
& sayth they be not of that chapter.
of the mendicantes ther be orders fowr,
which haue mad many a ryche man powr;
& yf it be as old men sayn,
they spryng out of the name of caym;
for euen as abell was slayn with his brother,
so be thos slayn that trust in that order,
and by a false fayth cleyn dismist,
that haue not holy beleue in Christ.
heremittes there be that holdyse of paul,
but I can not tell you, be my soule,
whether ther were any such or no
that constitute ydell bekers to go.
there be other that be anthonyn,
but he whom I salute was gylbertin:
full loue reuerens I made with kne,
and ouer his sholder he[1] lokyd a-wry,
as thoughe he sawe me; it was ynoghe.
toward the churche I me droghe,
for I herd tell that by foundation
of bothe the sixis there was religion.
the women where closyd vp by the vysiter;
you know what perrele it is together,
to ley hyrdis fast vnto the fyer,

The Minorites (Franciscans) defend Duns.

The Carmelites set up Albert; the hermits, St Augustine.

The Black Friars (Dominicans) reject the White ones (Carmelites).

The Four Orders of Mendicants

sprang from Cain.

Some Hermits are Paulines;

others, Antonines.

My solemn bursar was a Gilbertine. (St Gilbert was of Sempringham.)

Both monks and nuns were at Sempringham;

flax next the fire.

[1] *orig.* she

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which *so*ne to kyndyll is in daunger.
but all this whyell I was in great moon,
for that I was my-selue, & company had non,
Then I saw a comely priest — whan in ye churche *ther* I spyed walkyng
a comely pryst, and a welfary*ng*,
lokyng in the wyndows all about,
as thoughe sum old armis he wher sekyng out;
in a short gown, — in a shord gown gurd by the wast,
[*leaf* xxxv] [1 *or* cersuet?] — and a cersurt[1] hod ouer his sholders cast,
with a blak fryng hemyd al about,
slyt sum-thing before, and takyd in a lowpe;
his gown-sleue was narow at the hand,
with a white wand in his hand. — in whom he bare a Ioly whyt wand;
he ware his geyr full well and semly;
Like Chaucer's Monk, he had neat boots, — his bottis sat cleyn and claspyd feytuosly;
rownd visagyd, and sum-thing son-ybrent,
he loked not as he were closter-pent;
from place to place he dyd about rowm,
and lookt 'a master,' when at home. — he semyd a master whan he was at home.
I longyd sum tydynges of him to eare,
because I toke him to be a straunger;
thinking him rather to enclyne,
because we ware both p*er*rygryne,
I askt him the Abbey's history. — and dyssiryd him hertely of his curtesy,
of that fundation to show me the anscetry.
He told it me; and that St Gilbert was born at Sempringham. — he told me sum-tym that borne in that vilage
was on gylbert, that of a page
was there brought vp an holy man,
which this relygion fyrst began,
and so thorow-out the hole story.
I kepyd it well in memory,
I askt him whether he in his conscience believd monkery to be — dessyring him to swow me what he thought,
in his consciens whan he had sought,
whether mans rule is so to be regardit,
and how he him-selue beleued to be rewardyt
God's bidding, — by godis will & by his byd*i*ng,

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or ellis by tradition of mens inuentyng. — or man's inventing.
& then he dyd planly confesse
that mans work was wrechydnes; — He said, 'man's work, and this was wretchedness;
& to the corintheans he could rehers,
that in mans work we shold not reIoce;
for paull him-selue wold haue yet known
that mans work is our own;
for wether it be he, cephas or apollo,
that is our awn what euer we do,
which is nought whan we do best, — nothing was of worth except
exceptyd only our faith in christ. — faith in Christ.
the thing for good that we pretend,
takis non effect as meritoriuse end;
therfore merit in vs is non,
but in our redemer christ alon.
Abraam, Isac, & Iacob, — The Patriarchs were deliverd from hell by Christ;
samuel, ely, ner patient Iobe,
for ther workes lay in pryson fast,
tell the kyng of glory in-brast,
& fechyd them out wer as they ley.
we must [be] delyuered by the same key, — and we must be freed by Him,
& not by man, ner in his inuention, — not by man's invention.
for there ruell is but confucion;
for it is expresse agaynst godis beading,
that we to his ruell shold mak any adyng,
ner with any-thing thought it seme right,
[. . . . . *line left out*]
but humbly be-sekyng of syns remision, — [*leaf* xxxvi]
sayeng "demite," by christis instruction;
& this he gaue it in ruell generall,
in tokyn that we be synners all.
"now be that lord," quod I, "that makid me,
I lytell thought that in this contre
had ben any so perfyt at Iudgment;"
& he answerd, "yes, verament; — The Bishops stop our preaching.
but we dar not for *th*e bishops preche,

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ner the people instruct & teache;
wher other[1] tyller they do non know
but him that the cokyll doth sowe,
Papist priests make men kneel to stones, and kiss rotten bones, that makis them knell to stokis & stons,
& kyse & offer to rottyn bons;
& god wot here is full small diligens
to show the people there obedyens,
which they ought aboue all thing
and disobey their king, to god him-selue, & to ther kyng,
which vnder him hath here the gueuernans,
& made our hed by godis ordinans,
to whom is gyuen his houll power,
both to pu[u]yche, & vs to socour.
who corrects ill-doers, first, to correct, he beris the swerd,
& we offend by godis word;
& second, he shall prefer & leyd
and guides well-doers. the well doer in euer sted;
Christ gave the King rule, not the clergy: & by christ him-selue put in this degre,
whan it was takin from the clergy,
when they wer warnid from suche presumpcion,
not for to tak no iurisdiction,
but he that wold haue the preferment,
they should be servants. to be ther ministre shold be diligent,
as Christ himselue, to teache vs nought for-gett·
[. . . . . *line left out*]
(Chaucer's Parson, A, 497-8.) and first he dyd yt, and after he taght;
thes wordis," sayd he, "haue I caght,
whiche put me cleyn owt of dowt
Bishops should obey kings.' that bisshopis to kingis shold lowt;
ner amongst them to haue no hed,
for christ him-selue it for-beyd,
and confirmid kingis in suche renown,
next him in erthe to haue dominion;
but her," he sayd, "cowd I tell a tall."
"now I pray the," quod I, "vnbulke thy malle,

[1] *orig.* otber

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and tell forthe: the bisshop is not her,
his sunner, the officiall, ner yet his chansler."
and as we walkid, with that he stayd,
and with an othe confirmid and said, 276 Then the comely Priest
"that I had rehersid[1] nothing but papry,
sprong owt of Antichrist, full of foxry;"
and of the chansler of lichfeld[2] begon to spek, abus'd the Chancellor of Lichfield,
but I desyrid him not his fast to breke; 280
for I knew wel christis entent
was neuer to set prist on Iugment,
but to teache men in-to better lyf,
and not cruelly to sle with blody knif. 284
"well," sayd he, "interrupt me no more, [leaf xxxvii] and said he must speak of the Devil's brood, before Christ.
my tall I will begin wher I left[3] befor;
but fyrst or I can bring mi purpos,
I must his contrary disclos. 288
the son of perdition, it is a strang term,
and began in iudas, as I can deserne, These monks and friars began with Judas.
which for mony sold his master;
and now they be growin in-to a gretter number, 292
whiche be sprong out of iudas succession,
ther cheffe captayn of transgression, Their chief Captain
dothe paull spek of to the tessalonians,
that in this world hathe don so muche greuans, 296
which shall not be known to the vttermost
but whan ther coms a dissention first;
for thes that from christ be appostalat,
deuidit in-to sectis in-ordinat, 300
agaenst godis ordinans be rebellion,
and as fyndis in hell full of dissention,
and dothe extoll ther awn noghtihod
aboue all that is called god, 304
in the temple sitting, an vnmet thing, sits in the Temple as God.
showing him-selue as heuenly kyng:
scriptur dothe show and determin But the Bible

[1] *orig.* reherhid [2] *orig.* liehfeld [3] *orig.* left

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has fixt his end, that he shall be opinid in his tyme,
whiche is constitut, and by god set:
which their burning men, their tyranny and hypocrisy, cannot stop. It is not ther[1] burning that can it let,
ther mischeuuse tyranny ner cruelnes,
clokyd with ypocracy and falsnes.
he shalbe shoude, & his iniquite,
the son of perdition perde,
whom Iesus christ with the strap[2] rod
of the spirit of his mo[u]the, which is God,
Christ shall destroy his works. shall destroy, & make lyght his workyng,
that in sathan workis many strang thing,
& illude the people thorow there craftynes,
there mokis, there mous, & there feynid holynes;
in all dissayt, full of iniquyte,
repungnant to god & to his verite.
This is the Sorceress of the Apocalypse, this is the woman, the sorcerus wich,
whom Iohn saw in the apocalips,
on a beast with 7 heads and 10 horns, syting apon a monsterus best,
with .vii. hedis & .x. hornis most odiust.
the woman that this best bestrod,
was gorgiusly be-seyn as she rod,
dressi in purple and pearls, in purple, with stons set so well,
most rychestly chast with margarites euery dell;
in hir hand she kar a golden cupe,
were-in was venom euery drope,
with whom she norichyd hir abhomination,
making people fornicators, i. i. idolatera. & caused the people to comit fornication.
for we be called fornicators
when tyme we be ydolotors,
& take antychrist for our hed,
& not the kyng which is in christ-is sted,
of whom anon partly tell I shall.
[leaf xxxviii b] but first the prophet of antichristes fall
I will declare and sum-thing tell;
& of this howr, this leyder to hell,

[1] *orig.* ther ther [2] *mistake for* sharp? [3] *orig.* xexviii

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in whos forhed was wrytyn babylon,
the great mother of fornication;
for out of this monster is sprong
thes ydell lobers that do suche wrong,
& takis the swet from true mens face:
I beseke god amend it for his grace.
for when the son of man enteris his kyngdom,
then shall they know what wrong they haue done,
& say, "thes be they whom we had in derision,
& Iugyd them folyche in our opynyon;
for they dyd labour, toyle, and swet,
to get power clothes, and to ther bely meat;
& now be they takyn amongst the children of god,
& we expellyd for our ydelhod.
we insensat haue eryd from the way of trueth,
with-out light of Iustyce, now to our ruthe,
& haue mad our-selue wery in *the* way of perdition,
walking strayt-ways to bryng vs to destruction,
that trust *in* our-selue, & owr work*es* hath vs ouerthrow,
because the way of god we dyd not know.
what now auallyth our ryches & pryd?
all saue our ydelnes doth from vs slyd;
as much to say, oure closters ner farmeris,
with whom we haue bleryd innocent eys,
wher we were wont to work the workes of falsnes,
is now obiect to oure opprobbryusnes."
Iohn saith he saw this woman dronk—
that this multitude of sectis hath sonk—
of the bloud of many an holy martyr,
and of Iesu christ many a confessore;
for this is to be noted in generall,
that vnder the clok of patrons they be al
where-of sum wher marters in dede,
and sum fore the trueth dyd neuer a drope bled,
but wher fraurd, disobedient, & surquidus,
agaynst there own princes presu[m]ptuuse;

From this Whore of Babylon

have sprung these Abbey-lubbers that take the sweat from true men's faces.

But when Christ comes,

they'll wail in hell for their idleness

and falseness.

This Whore was drunk

with the blood of Martyrs.

Some monks were froward against their Princes.

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and suche as to princes be not obedient,
be antichristes against God repungnant;
The sects of this Whore of Babylon — but this howr of Babylon that hath regnid so long,
yt hath not beyn by trueth, but by strong hand.
I can not expresse, I han non such wyt,
how in euery part theyr sectis were set
accus'd those who read the Bible, and burnt 'em, or made 'em forswear. — quyckly to accuse them that begon to spye,
by reyding of scripture, to se there heresy;
and then all such must be burned,
or ellis ab-Iuryd, and to hething scornyd.[1]
the multitude of the people beleued them well,
that from god by inspyration dyd not feyl.
her in this contrey contynus the infection
Still here is the poison of Anti-christ, — yet styll of antechrist, which causis insurrection;
for it is only the old pharizes pretens
[leaf xxxix] to kepe the people in ingnorans,
styll in egipt vnder pharo thrall,
who hopes by bloodshed to hold his place. — for by bloud-shed they hop to be kepyd in stall,
euen as nature doth them bynd,
for they be come of cams kynd,
to whos sacrifyce god had no respect,
but, as ysay saith, doth them cleyn abiect;
for wher the seyd of god is vnsawn,
for his ner his children they be not known.
there-for to this ignorant rebels
Isaiah bids these rebels against God — ysay the prophet this tall tels,
and bydyse them here the word of god
in serful termis for there noghtyhod,
which knew before of there sodomi,
& so callis them, and of gomory,
the princes wich be infernall,
fygured in daniell by beall;
and bydis them to godis word gyue heryng,
to leave off their Mass, — and of ther sacrifyce[2] to mak leauyng;
and saith, 'when you shall come to my presens,

[1] *orig.* stornyd [2] *orig.* sacrifyre

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then shall I ask, who gaue you lycens
with-in my gat to take suche presumption?'
this is not spoken without great occasion
of thes which wylbe ministers, — and not presume to set themselves up to be masters.
and vnder such pretens be-come masters,
when of them-selue they be callyd alon,
& not of god, as was aaron.
and therfore there shalbe no religion
not truely plantyd without destruction.
thes be the prophesys that we shold trust vnto,
& not in false lyes that we be inhibyt fro.
it is a praty pownt to mark the crafty wyttis — On the other hand,
that on both the partis hath set there delitis
to moue the people to ther awn part,
where them-selue dyd most apply there hert;
for sum soght antechristes distruction,
and sum agayne of the contrary opynyon
dyd lyes inuent, & set them out in prophesy, — some men invent lying prophecies
in hope to alure the people therby;
thorow which vndowtyd many hath beyn slayn
that haue put trust in suche fablis vayn;
and thos that folow suche niffels and fablis
they cary them in bowsums, and writyn in tablis;
by the harolydis termis they call him the lyon, — about the Lion and the Dragon;
the son and the mon, & the dredfull a dragon,
& how the barns shall ryse ful blythe
be-tweyn the sykyll and the syth.
thes prophesis come of the deuyll,
which is perseyued be there end euyll,
as martin swarthe, and many an other mo, — like Martin Swart, &c.
hath mischeffe asked, vengens and wo,
on them that suche craft cowd
enuent to sheyd crystyn mens bloud—
perkyn werbek[1] and Iak straw, — Perkin Warbeck, Jack Straw, and
and now of lat owr cobler the dawe. — [*leaf* xl] Captain Cobler (see p. 9, note).

[1] *orig.* werkek

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A diatribe against Satan (and malicious Papists).

¶ an exclamation of the auctor
agaynst sathan owr old ennemy.

'Wicked worm!

"¶ O wycked worme, to penaunce con-Iuryd, 449
and of god him-selfe first accorsyd,
amongst all creatures most to be aborred,
by whom in-to this world came first 452

how durst *thou* rise,

the fal of man! tell me how thou durst
presum to ryse, most vngraciose beast,

whom God bade creep?

and so by god inputed to crepe apon thy brest. 455

"O false pretens of gratiuse pilgramage, 456
for the comyn-welth which is the destrower!
wyll thu neuer leue to bryng folke in dotage,

Thou art the first father of all lies,

which of all lyes was the fyrst father? 459
euen so of eue thou wast the disayuer.
to comen-welthe thou sayd me shold be brought;
of all thy begynnynges the end is noght. 462

and wast first cast down into hell.

"Thou wase thy-selue the fyrst rebellyon, 463
& therfore eiect down in-to hell;
not geuyng due honor was thy confusyon.
with god and his ordinans thou wold mell, 466
& euyn lyke thes innocentes compell,

Antichrist's clerks are thy ministers,

workyng in thy-selue antichristes clerkes,
thy shanyllynges, thy ministerys of beall*es* mark*es*. 469

"for euyn as adam hyd him for shame, 470
whan he had broken godis co*m*maundment,

rebels against God,

so wold the rebellious; alas! wo can them blame,
there awn consciou[n]s must nedis be ther Iugment, 473
by fals temtptacion hoping preferment,
no-thing to haue deseruyd but cruell dethe.

[1 *orig.* morthe] wo worthe[1] that worm, that euer it drue brethe, 476

"That be-twyx sowll and spryt hath put dissentio*n*, 477
thorow which the sowll is banychid cleyn,
that *with* the spryt of god afore was in vnion;

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in paradyce now it must no mor be seyn:
in the same case our rebellious beyn,
eiect for breking godis ordinans,
and greuously accursyd for ther disobediens.

turnd out for breaking God's command.

"The spryt is desolat from thes rebellious,
& called woman, for lak of a make,
which in the apocalipis, in pay[n]s dolorus,
to bryng forth and be delyuered doth tak
great payns; and this is for our sake,
promysed by god, that the womans seyd
shold distroy and breke this fals serpentis heyd.

But the woman's seed shall break the head

"Which dragon stondis ready to deuor,
with .vii. hedis, an odius beast,
and ten great horns styf and stowr,
that in-to malis is dayle encreasyd,
and diademis .vii. apon thes hedis be impressyd;
and with hir tayll the steris out of heuyn rownd
the thred part pullid and thrown to grond.

of the 7-headed Dragon with 10 horns.

[*leaf* xli]

"This is antichrist, the howr of babylon,
spoke of agayn in this same bok;
waching the woman hir chyldis destruction,
whom god from heuin preseruid and toke.
it is the son of man, yf you lyst to lok,
this world for to ruell, with the yron rod.
this must be true, yt is both man and god.

This Antichrist and Whore of Babylon

"And here doth your prophesy take effect,
agaynst the son of man sedeciusly to ryce.
yf scripture be true, they shalbe subiect;
for we, taking godis part, must them dispyce.
thes be our papystes rotyd in malis,
waching godis word as ner as they can,
whych now is come forth by the son of man.

means the malicious Papists.

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The Woman who fled into the wilderness was the true Church,

"The true church of god figuryd in the woman 512
that fled to wyldernes for a space;
and for fer of this dragon durst not be known,
tyll the sonne of man be brought to his place, 515
which shall thes dragon deuour and chace
with moses rod turnyd in-to a serpent,
to eate vp the ask manteyned by enchantment. 518

now in our own time

"O what reIosyng it is to a noble hert 519
to se goddes prophesy fulfylled in owr tyme,

brought back by Christ,

come home owt of egipt in heyll & quart!
this was figuryd in owr layde, mother & virgyn, 522
which syngnifyd, a space—as god did determene—
that we vnder this dragon shold suffer payn,
tyll restorment by the minister of the son of man; 525

"Of whom I haue herd many on spek, 526
that knew, god wot, ful lytyll what it ment,
were-in the .ii. natures them-selue doth not brek;

God and Man made one,

I mene god & man mad atonment. 529
in the last adam there is suche agrement,
that from this diuinite christ will ne can;
it is the selue-sam that is the son of man. 532

who sits on the right hand of God the Father,

"Right hand the father, he syttis omnipotent 533
thorow his diuinite, ful hye in trown;

whence he shall come to judge the rebel souls.

from whens he is to come, at the Iugment,
to Iodge the sowll that is sounken downe 536
from the spryt of God, & wyll not be bown
at all tyms ready for to fulfyll,
her apon erth, his commaundment & wyll. 539

"euyn as heuyn is seyt to his deyte, 540
& is his kyngdom of very right,

Earth is his

so apon erth, thorow his humanite,
[leaf xlii] doth he dissend, & there-on lyght. 543

footstool.

it is his fot-stull, & rullis with his might,
of very congruens, by power imperiall,
in the misticall man his substitute regal. 546

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"Moses dyd fygure the kyng apon erthe,
segnifyeng the spiryt aboue the sowll;
to whom was comytted to kepe in helth,
record to aaron, whom he dyd controle;
the spirit ys the son, *the* mo*n*e is the sowll;
the mon is a subiect of very right
vnto the son, of whom she takis here lyght.

"Paull spekis, whan he wryttys to thymothy,
& shows the mis[c]heffe of thes sundry sectis;
& how thes be they that refusys veryte,
which the ingnorant people in-fectis;
they tak no lyght wher they be subiectis,
therfor he confers them to Iannes & manbres,
rebellers to god and his ministre moses.

Moses typified Christ as King;

the Sun typified the Spirit; the Moon, the Soul.

Paul condemns these Popish sects,

rebellers against God and Moses,

"But paull tretynis them to be ouer-trown,
as Ianes & mambres were at that season;
& from hensforth openly to be known
there ingnorant folyche rebellion,
of the spryt of god hauyng non intellection,
but resisting moses, godis minister,
folowyng antichrist out of godis order.

followers of Antichrist,

"Thes thinges are wryten for our instruction,—
so hath paull to the corinthyans,—
and shows how many hath suffreth distruction,
which crepyd not vnder godis gouernans.
our rebellious, I trow, be alians
to dathan[1] and abiron, the trueth to tell,
for resistinge moses that sonk vnto hell."

like Dathan and Abiram.'

"By owr lord," quod I, "this is well sayd,
I durst haue sworn, or my nek layd,
yt had beyn true that merlyn did tell,
afore I herd it repungne the gospell."
"thuche!" quod he, "ther was no suche man
gotyn by the deuyll sense the world began;

"I believd in Merlin before I heard it was against the Gospel."

[1] *orig.* datban

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Even if Merlin liv'd—like a black swan or white crow,—Paul says you shouldn't believe him.

or let vs y-magin that it be so,
as we may the blak swan or the whyt crow,
hath not paull warnyd vs, wher he doth tell
that we shold not beleue an angell
from heuyn in the ayr fleyng,
yf he teache agaynst godis bidinge?
which in his testament we may reyd,
and bownd to beleue as owr cred.
thus ymagining, it doth aper playn
that antichrist in all them doth rayn

All who believe the Devil's lore [leaf xliii]

that beleue in the deuyls loor,
to desayue vs styll as he had don before;

are heretics.

thes be they that paull callis 'heritykis,'
which after monicion from vs inhibitis.
christen men shold not with thes monsteris mell,
which do beleue in the deuyle of hell.

Had Lucifer turnd God out of heaven, Merlin might have been trusted.

yf lucifer had dryuen god out of heuyn,
then shold merlyn haue kepyd his steuyn."
"you spok," quod I, "of the son & the mone,
of whom I dessyr to here interpretation."
"thos be matters," he sayd, "misticall,
and be very hyghe and theologicall:

As to the Son and Moon: the Sun is the Spirit,

the son is the spryt, & so doth it syngnify;
beleue not me, but reyd exody,
that whan moses apon the mont syon
had of the lord owr creator a vysion,

who appeard to Moses on Mount Sinai;

for bryghtnes the people cowld not behold,
of the son-beames yt can not be told;
the clernes & light that from him did spryng,
of quykyng & lyf it was a presentyng.

and the writing given to Moses typified the Spirit.

for the letter ther to hym geuyng
by god, was of the spryt a fyguryng,
vs to reuyuiue at suche tym and whan
the selue spryt vnit to the son of man."
"I persaue," quod I, "that moses is the spryt."
"no! perde," he sayd, "but figure it;

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and euyn so dyd he fygure the sone,
from whom all light and knowleg doth come.
& now do I say that merlyn was a donine[1],
& no deuyll, as deuels determine;
for if he were a fend, & spok carnally,
necessyte compellis it a fals prophesy;
but thus dyd he take the sprit for heuyn king,
which in the sowll shold haue his byding.
& now doth the mon losse hir light,
not resayuing the spryt aganst all right;
for that sowll is perished and ded
where the spryt of god is not hed.
& this is euen it, the vnnaturall thinge,
out of his awn realm to baniche the kyng;
for christ is a kyng, god, & man,
& also a pryst, as I lear cane.
marke of his kyngdom, Iohn his diuinite,
luke of his prysthod, mathu the humanite,
dyd wryt; & therfore take hed,
for thes be the true prophycis in ded.
it is marke that is callyd the lyon,
I meyn the gospell, & Iohn the faulcon,
whos frendes shall set opyn the gates,
vnder-stond by our good prelatis,
to let truthe entre; you know which is he
that callis him-selue the way & veryte,
which hath byn banyched from his kyngdom,
wher-of babylon hath rygned howrdom,
the lyon, the oxe, the man, & the faulcon.
all thes in on be son of man,
prophysed to ruell with his yron rod;
it is his very word which is god,
in the ymage of christ, the last adam,
both son of god & son of man,
In whom we be bownd to work our meyt,
of god marked, whan we it truly geyt,

[1] P dovine =] Diviner, not a Devil.

Merlin was a

It is unnatural to banish Christ from his kingdom.

Mark, John, Luke and Matthew,

wrote of Christ.

Mark (his Gospel) is the Lion; John the Falcon,

or good Prelates.

The Whore of Babylon has rul'd over Christ's kingdom.

[*leaf* xliiii]

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The Lion is the mystical image of the Son of Man.

ministerid vnto vs by the lyon,
the misticall ymage of the son of man,
institute & put in godis sted,
ouer sowll and body to be our hed;
not only our hed, but body & all,
the misticall man, & so we may hym call;
in vs he hath his operation,
as body in members by due proportion.
it is a wonder to se scripturs agre;
it passis man, it is so heuenly;
& as moche mistery of the wordis rysyng
as euer was of christis comyng."

Merlin's and Bede's prophecies

"I am satisfed," quod I, "what merlyn ment."
"bede," sayd he, "coms euyn to the same entent;
for all the dessyr and policy
was to dryue it in-to hedis witty,

mean that the Pope is Antichrist and the Whore of Babylon, and shall fall.

that the pope was antichrist & the howr of babylon,
and shold haue a fall & destruction;
a ded man shold ryse, dukis to deme,
then after that, all quiet & queme.
the true minister, lying a mort longe,
shold his awn autorte in-to his hond fonge."

"I'm not a Cantabrigian, but an Oxonian;

& then he asked me and I were cantibrygion.
I sayd no, I was an oxonion.
"there haue you herd," sayd he, "a prophesy,
which is true without any lye:
hoc magnum studium quod floret ad vada bonum
ante finem seculi, &c."
"I haue herd it," quod I, "full oft a-forne,

and I've sworn not to study at Stamford,

and therto my-selue on a boke sworn,
neuer with-in stampford to reyd logyk,
diuinite, phylosophy, ner yet retoryk;

for fear Oxford should remove there."

for fer that oxford, which once was floryching,
shold remoue to stampford for gud learnyng."
"I told you before there was crafty wyttis,
and thus he sayd apon both the partis;

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for they that inuentyd that othe fyrst,
of god him-selue be accurst.
ther was a prouerbe I knew wan,
callyd 'turnyng the cate in the pane';
for that that was spoken in the spryt,
in the fleche they wold haue vs to take yt.
so wold they haue vs to tak merlyn,
as thoughe spiritually he had known no feling;
but thus this prophesy is vnderstond,
that oxford now, which is bond
vnder the howr, the monsterus beaste,
& is here ford for most and least
that there doth pease thorow any degre,
mantenythe babylon vtterly;
saue the good yoth begyns to spryng,
and of the well of lyf to haue tasting,—
which water christ promysyd than
at Iacobs well to the samaritane,—
and leuis the slechy podell, full of frogis,
to the old cenkanter phariziecall dogis,
where-in ther delyte is spytfull chyding;
I beseke god send them a mending,
to fulfyll the prophesy thorow the ford of stone,
in which pathe-way christ byld apon,
and leaue ther falshed, craft, and lyes,
suffering the word of god to ryse."
with that he stod, and toke his leaue,
dissiring me my-selue not greue
of his tarying, ner his long tale;
and I besought god to kepe him out of bale,
saue I longyd, for yf euer we met agan,
of the blak flet of norwey me to sayn.
he sayd he durst not it dis[c]lose,
but bad me reyd the 'romant of the rose,'
the thred leafe, Iust from the end
to the secund page, ther he dyd me send;

692 The Proverb 'turning the Cate (cake) in the Pan'.

696 Merlin's prophecy means that Oxford is now under the Whore,

700 [*leaf* xlv]

and supports Babylon.
But a few good youths are rising,

704

and leaving the frogs' puddle and

708 old Pharisaical dogs.

712

Here the comely Priest stopt,

716

and would not explain the black

720 Fleet of Norway to me;

but told me to read lines 7129—7214 (P) (or 7167—7172: see l. 739 here) of the *Romaunt of the Rose*,

724

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wher I shold se mater plenty ynoghe,
where the Wolf means all the stinking beasts — saue only vnder the coler of the wolfe
is conferyd al the stinking fuet—
so *the* hunters call it whan they mak ther suet— 728
the lyzard, the polcat, the fox, & fulmerd,
that join the Dragon in devouring Christ. — which *with* the drogon takis part,
to deuor the chyld, the son of man,
or ellis a lyon in his kyngdom; 732
the egle or the falcon, whan he flys *on* hye,
in the calue or the oxe misteris be;
as well in the old tyme there fation & gyes,
as of his awn-selue the sacrifice; 736
This Wolf must be flayd. — but the wolfe wol neuer owt of his hyd,
tyll first he be flayn both bely, bak, & syd.
The next 6 staves are Chaucer's own: *Rom. Rose*, l. 7167—7173, ed. Morris, vi. 218. — he prayd me thes .vi. stauis for to marke,
whiche be chaucers awn hand wark:— 740

While the Pope rules, Christ can never prosper. — ¶ Thus moche woll our boke syngnify,
that whyle peter hath mastery,
may neuer Iohn show well his myght.
now haue I declaryd right 744
the mey*n*ing of the bark and rynd
that makis the ententions blynd.

¶ And by & by he doth away fle,
& conuys him-selue as it had neuer beyn he; 748
I pray God that Christ may have his right. — but I beseke god, Iohn may haue his might,
& the son of man to posses his right,
in his kyngly ymage to haue his ministre. 751

[*The fragment ends here.*]

[Is the *t* for *th* in *toughe* 22, *tryue* 37, and for *d* in *excepd* 62, *appetyd* 78, *shord* 173, *tessalonians* 295, *trotynis*, *ouertrown*, 561, a provincialism, like *awn* for *own* 303, 427, &c., *vnawn* for *unsown* 401? Note *whom* for *which* in l. 178, 366. See too *o* for *s*, *ryce*, *dispyce* 506, -8, *baniche* 630, *banyched* 643; and *ey* for *e* in 19, 651-2, &c. On *t* = *th* see Mr Skeat's *Romans of Partenay*, p. xvi, near foot.

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APPENDIX II, p. 23.

LEGITIMATION OF JOHN OF GAUNT'S CHILDREN BY KATHERINE SWYNFORD.[1]

Rolls of Parliament, vol. 3, p. 343, A.D. 1397, 20 Ric. II.

28. FAIT a remembrer, q*ue* le Maresdy, le quinzisme jour de Parlement, le Chaunceller, du comandement de Roy, declara, Coment *nost*re seint Pere le Pape, al reverence de la tres excellent persone du Roy, & de son honorable uncle le Duc de Guyen & de Lancastre, & de son sank, ad habliez & legitimez Mon Sire Johñ de Beauford, ses freres & sa soer. Et pur ceo *nost*re *Seigneur* le Roy, come entier Emperour de son Roialme d'Engleterre, pur honour de son sank, voet, & ad de sa plenir Roial poiar hablie, & fait muliere, de sa propre auctorite, le dit Johñ, ses ditz freres et soer. Et aussi pronuncia & publist l'abilite & legitimation, solonc la fourme de la Ch*ar*tre du Roy ent faite. Laquele Ch*ar*tre feust lue en pleine Parlement, & baillez a le dit Duc, pere a dit Johñ & ses ditz freres & soer; le tenour de quele Ch*ar*tre s'ensuit: "Ricardus, Dei *grat*ia, Rex Angl*ie* & Franc*ie*, & D*omi*nus Hib*ernie*, carissimis Consanguineis *nost*ris nobilibus Viris, Johanni, Militi; Henrico Clerico; Thome, Domicello; ac dil*ecte* Nobis nobili Mulieri Johanne Beauford, Domicelle, germanis p*re*carissimi Avunculi *nost*ri nobilis Viri Johannis Ducis Lancastr*ie* natis, ligeis *nost*ris, Salutem & benivolentium *nost*re Regie Magestatis. Dum interna consideracio*ne* pensamus, quot incessanter & quantis Honoribus parentili & sincera dilecci*one* p*re*fati Avunculi *nost*ri, &

Legitimation pur Beaufort (m, Q).

The Pope, out of reverence for John of Gaunt, having legitimis'd his children by Katherine Swynford,

the King also legitimizes them by the following Charter, read in Parliament:

Richard II

to John,

Henry, Thomas,

and Joan, children of our uncle John, Duke of Lancaster, greeting!

From our love for our said Uncle

[1] John of Gaunt died in 1399.

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sui maturitate consilii, undique decoramur congruum arbitramur & dignum, ut meritor*um* suor*um* intuitu, ac grac*iosa* contemplatione personarum, vos qui magne probitatis ingenio vite, ac morum honestate fulgetis, & ex regali estis prosapia propagati pluribusque virtutibus, munereq*ue* insigniti divino, sp*eci*alis prerogative munimine favoris & gratie fecundemus. Hinc est, quod d*icti* Avunculi n*ostr*i, genitoris v*estr*i precibus inclinati, vobiscum qui, ut asseritur, Defectum Natalium patimini, ut hujusmodi Defectu, quem ejusque qualitates quascumq*ue* presentibus volumus pro sufficienter expressis, non obstante q*uo*d quecumq*ue* Honores, Dignitates, Preeminentias, Status, Gradus, & Officia publica & privata, tam perpetua quam temporalia, atque feudalia & nobilia, quibuscumque nominibus nuncupentur, etiamsi Ducatus, Principatus, Comitatus, Baronie, vel alia Feuda fuerint, etiamsi mediate vel inmediate a Nobis dependeant seu teneantur, prefici, promoveri, eligi, assumi, & admitti, illaq*ue* recipere, retinere, gerere, & excercere, provide, libere, & licite, ac si de legitimo thoro nati existeretis, quibuscumque Statutis seu Consuetudinibus Regni n*ostr*i Anglie in contrarium editis, seu observatis, que hic habemus pro totaliter expressis, nequaquam obstantibus; de plenitudine n*ostr*e Regalis Potestatis, & de assensu Parliamenti n*ostr*i, tenore presentium dispensamus. Vosq*ue* & vestrum quemlibet Natalibus restituimus & legitimamus."

and your own excellence,

we empower you, who suffer from defect of birth,

to take and hold all honours and fees, as if you had been born in lawful wedlock.

You and yours we therefore legitimise.

[For a translation of this document, and an account of Katherine Swynford and her family, see *Excerpta Historica*, 152-9, 427-8.]

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APPENDIX III, p. 69.

PROLOGUE TO THE SPURIOUS *PLOWMANS TALE*.[1]

Thynne, ed. 1542, Fol. cxix.

¶ Here begynneth the Plowmans Prologue.[2]

The Ploweman plucked vp his plowe — The Plowman
whan mydsommer mone was comen in,
And sayd his beestes shuld eate ynowe, — turnd his beasts
And lyge in the grasse up to the chynne : — out to grass,
" They ben feble, both oxe and cowe,
Of hem nys left but bone and skynne : "
He shoke of share, and cultre of drowe,
And honge his harneys on a pynne ;

¶ He took his tabarde and his staffe eke,
And on his heed he set his hat,
And sayde he wolde saynt Thomas seke. — and said he'd go
On pylgremage he goth forth platte ; — a Canterbury Pilgrimage.
In scrippe he bare both breed and lekes ;
He was forswonke and all forswatte ;
Men might have sene through both his chekes,
And every wang toth, and where it sat.

[1] The *Plowmans Tale* was first printed separately by Thomas Godfray in folio, without date, but about 1532-35, probably under W. Thynne's care. Why it was omitted from the edition of 1532 does not appear, unless F. Thynne's report of his father having been compelled to omit the *Pilgrims Tale* from his first edition be a mistake, based on the fact that the *Plowmans Tale* was omitted from that edition for some such reason as is alleged, though printed separately at the same press. From this separate edition (of which the only remaining copy, formerly Askew's, Farmer's, and Heber's, is now at Britwell) it was reprinted in W. Thynne's second edition of Chaucer's works in 1542, and separately in octavo by W. Powell, about 1547-8.—H. Bradshaw.

[2] Mr Skeat printed this prologue from the undated edition (of 1550), in his Notes to *Piers the Ploughmans Crede*, p. 45-6. E. E. Text Soc.

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Our Host saw

¶ Our hoste behelde wele all about,
And sawe this man was sunne ybrent[1];
He knewe well by his senged snoute,
And by his clothes that were to-rent,
He was a man wont to walke about,

he was not a monk from a cloister.

He nas nat alway in cloystre ypent;
He coulde not religiouslyche loute,
And therefore was he fully shent.

¶ Our host him axed, "what man art thou?"

The Plowman said his work was

"Syr (quod he) I am an hyne,
For I am wont to go to the plowe,
And erne my meate yer that I dyne.

to sweat and earn his family food.

To swete and swynke, I make auowe,
My wyfe and chyldren therwith to fynde;
And serue God, and I wyst howe;
But we leude men bene full blynde;

But Clerks told him to sweat for them, for nothing in return.

¶ "For clerkes saye, we shullen be fayne
For her lyuelod swet and swynke,
And they ryght nought vs gyue agayne,
Neyther to eate ne yet to drinke.
The[y] mowe by lawè, as they sayne,[2]

They could curse him.

Us curse and dampne to hell[e] brynke;
Thus they putten vs to payne
with candles queynt[3] and belles clynke.

¶ "They make vs thrallès at her lust,
And sayne[2] we mowe nat els be saued;

They took the corn, and left him the dust.

They haue the corne, and we the dust;
who speaketh[4] ther agayn, they say he raued."
[*four lines lost* . . . . .]

¶ "what, man!" q*uod* our host, "canst thou preache?
Come nere, and tell us some holy thynge."

The Plowman says he'll tell what he heard a Priest preach.

¶ "Syr," quod he, "I herde ons[5] teache
A prest in pulpyt a good preachynge."
¶ "Saye on," quod our host, "I the beseche."
"Syr, I am redy at your byddyng,
I praye you that noman me reproche
whyle that I am my tale tellynge."

Thus endeth the prologue, and
here foloweth the fyrst parte
of the tale.

[1] sunburnt [2] fayne, in Godfray's edition: see Notes below.
[3] quencht [4] *read* speakth [5] once

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APPENDIX IV.

[*Ashmole MS.* 766, *leaf* 5, *back.*[1]]

A discourse vppon the lord Burghleyghe his creste.

[By Francis Thynne.]

[*Lord Burghley's Crest, blazond, a sheaf of golden corn, supported by two lions rampant, the left one white, for silver, the right one, blue: the whole surrounded by the Garter, with its motto 'Honi soit qui mal y pense'.*]

(1)

When burninge sonne w*i*th gleames of golden lighte
had closd his spredinge beames to take his reste,
And darksome shade had brought in dolefull nighte
w*i*th sable clooke vppon his slepinge breste, 4
w*i*th cristalle starres twinklinge in azurd skye,
w*hi*che slombringe dyes, to rest-fuł bedde I flye. 6

(2)

The tyme, I gesse, when Titans ruddy chaire
did kepe his course in equall peysed weyte,
w*i*th lowe descent enforced to repayre
to Libras house, where Equinoctiall strayte 10
w*i*th juste proporc*i*ons cuttes the night & daye
in nombred howres a-lyke for Phebus waye. 12

(3)

When dolefull mynde & wery lymmes were layed [leaf 6]
to quiet rest in softe and carefuł bedde,
my wretched state my moorninge brest dismayed,
hopelesse of helpe, since craftye faythlesse hedde 16
had wouen the meane by powre for to subdue
that honest harte whome enuye did p*ur*sue.[2] 18

[1] The whole 88 leaves are by Fr. Thynne, whose name also appears at the end of the book. All is in verse. The hand is difficult to decipher.—G. Parker.

[2] Compare the thrice-repeated motto on p. xlix, above. Note the bookes, his 'surest frendes,' p. 106, l. 99, and his mention of Chaucer, p. 114, l. 411.

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(4)

Yet, with this hevye care, a wakefull slepe
possest my shyueringe corps in depe dispayre;
for weylinge sorrowe whiche in hart did crepe
(by heavye vapoures thicker then the ayre,)
so noom'd my musinge wittes, & chokd the breyne,
that slombringe must the yeldinge hart distreine.

(5)

In whiche vncerteine trothe not full awake,
nor soundly luld aslepe as thoughtes had made,
a trembringe[1] feare my sprytes did ouertake,
and secretly my senses ganne to fade;
for, lo! the Dragon with quick-siluerd face
approchd my sight with wise & plesant grace,

(6)

Cladde in a slender lawne to ease his peyne,
when with quicke spede he skowrethe from the skye,
with winged hedde & fete, with sugred veyne,
with rodde devyne, & mase of maiestye,
whose heuenly voyce, after a little staye,
this future good from goddes above did saye:—

(7)

[leaf 6, back] "What meanes thy forginge breyne, with pointe devise
to turne her tender nett with dolefull thoughte?
what nedes thow thus with care to be so nyce,
since all thy toylinge peine shall serue for noughte?
for one there lyves, yf thow canst finde his name,
whose wyse forecaste may well advance thy fame.

(8)

"He is the lowest, and stalld in myddle place,
and by the course of heauen rules next the beste;
sett next the higheste, whose flaminge shyninge face,
In Ceres shape dothe by Diana reste,
and Azurd skye supported to his praysc,
whose lyvinge fame shall blome in following dayes.

(9)

"Him[2] serche thowe forthe, as worthiest in this lande,
vnder that one whiche secret wonder bredes,
for to enyoye thy sweate of workinge hande;
for frome his heuenly mynde alwayes procedes
a curteous harte, for to accept in gree
those frendly shewes whiche oft presented bee."

[1] So MS. ? for tremblinge. [2] MS. Hin

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(10)

Whiche sayed, he fledde, and that his saved wande
with gentle stroke lett fall vppon) my hedde.
when snortinge Morpheus by my side did stande,
and thwart myne eyes his sleping hand did spredde,
whereby my harte posseste such quiet reste,
as musinge thoughtes were banisht from my breste.

(11)

And sowndly thus enyoyinge silente ease, [leaf 7]
till pointed tyme of nighte did ende his rase,
and gladsome Elios, risinge from) the seas
with purple hue, did siluer starres displace,
And forcd me to for-sake that plesant bedde,
whose late swete dreames my carefull senses fedde.

(12)

Thus shakinge of the force of drowsy nighte,
I deckd my-self after my woonted guyse,
and downe dissende to honor Phebus lighte
In frutefull gardeine, where I did devise
whiche waye to spende that bright ensuynge daye,
lest idle thoughtes might vertuous lyfe decaye.

(13)

For nowe my former dreame was quite exild,
my wandringe wittes forgatt that sodden sighte;
those presente shewes myne other thoughtes begilde;
the flowres of soundry hue were my delighte;
for as newe yoyes to olde peine bringes reliefe,
so newe conceytes abandonde my olde greife.

(14)

This sotesome soyle where buylded was my yoye,
bedeckd with natures seuerall tapestrye,
was farre vnlyke that deintye garden ioye,[1]
whiche quene Semiramis did edyfye,
where garden[2] godd freshe Priapus did reste,
with his fayre nymphes to weyte vppon) his heste.

(15)

ne lyke the stately seate and fertill grownde [leaf 7, back]
of Bell-vider, placd in riche Italye,
where rare strange showes do plentuously abounde,
where plesures all doo fede the curious eye;
but this smale clodde is suche as woorkes myne ease,
when hevy dompes wolde mery hart displease.

[1] yoye *altered by another hand.* [2] ? MS. ar

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(16)

Where, when I roomed had my wanton fill,
and fresht my wittes with herbes of deinty smell,
I lefte that paradice againste my will—
for in suche place my harte wolde alwayes dwell— 94
And put my selfe where I did hoope to fynde
somme lernd conceyte to glutte my serching mynde; 96

(17)

Where settled downe emongest the wisest sorte,
& surest frendes that menne fynde now in vre,—
I meane my bookes, the whiche for my disporte,
do lerninge, wysdome, trothe, & mirthe, procure— 100
I raughte for the one, wherby I might discerne
the course of heauen and wandringe starres to lerne. 102

8)

Addicted then, by force of changinge breyne,
all graver studies for to hurle a-side,
and prove yf skill might make me to atteyne,
my fatall lyfe by starre of birthe to guyde— 106
for I was taughte that heuenly bodies doo
rule mortall menne as course of starres doo goo; 108

(19)

[leaf 8] Els, toylinge hinde, lay downe thy cuttinge plowe,
lett herbes and trees surrender all their mighte;
lett godd Apollo with his cunnynge [1]Crowe,
and Æsculapius with his depe insighte, 112
gyve place hoopelesse by arte for to recure
suche lothesome plages as hated dethe procure; 114

(20)

And Palinurus wise, lett goo thye sterne,
lett saylinge shippes flote one the raginge flodde,
throwe backe thy carde and nedle (to discerne
the northen poole) dipt in the adamantes blodde; 118
for yf the starres guyde not thy hidden waye,
to coostes vnknowen hed-longe thy barke wold stray.—120

(21)

The Auctor whiche to reade I vndertoke,
has[2] gathered rules of the celestiall sphere;
and as I chaned vppon the same to looke,
the thinge whiche fyrste yt selfe presented there 124
to my quicke sighte, was, how the planettes hie
in order doo their right-full course supplye, 126

[1] ? MS. b [2] MS. was

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(22)

Where Luna firste, as loweste of them all,
her rome posseste; next Mercurye the wise;
the thirde seate to faire Venus lott did fall;
the forthe vnto the golden sonne did ryse;
the fefte by course did blodye Mars possesse;
the nexte save one dothe Jupiter expresse.

(23)

And markinge this, I ganne recorde in harte [leaf 8, back]
the former riddle Mercurye mee tolde,
that lowest, middle, and the highest parte
save one, sholde, vnder one as cheife hedd, holde
the happye rule and reigne of this good lande:
I deper soughte the same to vnderstande.

(24)

The lower place the siluer Luna kepte,
a bodye firme, that rulethe all alone;
the golden sonne into the middest is lepte,
a perfecte gouernor, that nedeth none
to gyve hym ayde; then Jove, as well as theye,
nedlesse of helpe dothe beare a rulinge swaye.

(25)

These thre distincte as goddes of sondrye mighte
colde not bee hee whome Mercurye did Deame:
he spake of one, and these are thre in sighte;
thre is not one, and these yet well might seme
to have byn they, yf he had tolde of more;
But he nee spake but of one manne before.

(26)

This colde not bee the meaninge of his mynde;
suche hidden tales the goddes wold not power oute
to mortall menne, whose wittes were not assinde
(lyke Oedipus) to loose eche subtill dobte;
yet well I knewe the goddes vsde this pretence,
answere to gyve in speche of doble sence;

(27)

Witnesse therof the woo-full greciane knighte, [leaf 9]
to whome the Oracle in dobt-full speake,
shew'd to Œacides, when he sholde fighte,
suche doble dome as fatall lyfe did breake,
who, hoopinge victrye by their sacred reede,
yet lost the fielde when truthe the goddes decreed.

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(28)

And thoughe I wanted happye Josephs arte,
kinge Pharaos dreme so lyvely to ex[p]layne,
and of the holy Daniell lackd the harte,
thassiryans kingdome to devyde in tweyne,
And was depriu'd of all the dreminge skill
whiche did Sinesius and gregoras fill,

(29)

Yet pondringe moore what this darke speche might bee—
for hevenly goddes, in veyne do neuer sende
suche warninge sightes as then apperd to mee,
for perfectnes workes no imperfecte ende,—
I was resolu'd, by healpe of heuenly seate,
this hidden dobte to open lighte to beate;

(30)

For mov'd with secreate fancye in my hedde,
(thoughe reasons grownde ledde me not therunto,)
the same suche depe impress[i]one in mee bredde,
as from thee woorkinge breyne yt mighte not goo,
but that Mercurius, in somme secret thoughte,
by these three planettes had this purpose wroughte.

(31)

[leaf 9, back] Thus still pursuynge onne my former brayde,
(for fleetinge wittes no perfecte iudgmente geyne,)
I manye tymes with deeper muse assayed,
for longe contynuance dothe the depe atteyne,
whereby at leng[t]he the wyshed ende I wonne,
for endles labor endes the worke begonne.

(32)

And prouerbe olde was not deuis'd in veyne,
that 'roolinge stone doth neuer gather mosse:'
who lightly leaves in myddest of all his peine,
his foormer labor frustrates with his losse;
but who contynues as he did begynne,
withe equall course the pointed goale doth wynne.

(33)

The course I kepte for to vnshale this dowte,
and laye abrode this clowdye hidden speache,
was by vnytinge planettes brought aboute,
and by coniunctions whiche the lerned teache,
for heauenly bodyes oft in one agree,
thoughe seuered farr, and sondred by degree.

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(34)

Fyrst I devis'd—when I had v[i]ewed their seate,
to answere righte this ridles outwarde shewe,—
that Sol in middest did yeld for the staming heate,
& Luna water colde, and frostye dewe; 202
for I was taughte that thus these planettes mente,
whiche hidden thinges doo seme to represente. 204

(35)

This sonke not depe in mynde, for reasonne tolde— [leaf 10]
two contraryes in one canne neuer reste:
howe canne the burninge heate agree with colde?
so this conceyte yet springinge was suppreste.— 208
and then I thoughte what weyled[1] thinge might lye
vnder the same, in righte philosophye. 210

(36)

That true and secret skill Voarchoadumye[2] [?]
perfectly vsd by grace of heuenly sprite,
(for, with-oute that, tis subtill vanytie,
and mere deceyte vnfytte for skilles wighte,) 214
strayte tolde my wytte, whiche I will here vnfolde,
what secret mystrye heauenly planetts holde. 216

(37)

The horn'd Diana chaste, is siluer brighte,
whiche waninge moone dothe vnto vs bewraye;
the sceptred Sol, with steames of shyninge lighte,
the horded metall golde dothe here displaye; 220
the Crowned Jove, as dothe don Plato telł,
is inglishe Tynne, whiche dothe emongest vs dwelł. 222

(38)

All whiche sem'd not to answere my entente;
for leade, lowest mettalł, was excluded quite,
and chefest was in place, whiche was not mente;
for thoughe that siluer gayne next place by righte 226
to glystringe golde, as dothe experience teache,
yet none of these to lowest leade do reache. 228

(39)

And then I dem'd it some-what strange to bee, [leaf 10, back]
that siluer, golde, and tyne, sholde yoyne in one,
yf the[y] had answered vnto eche degree;
wherefore I thoughte to lett the same alone; 232
But in the end I founde Mercurius witte,
by one coniunctione colde these bodyes knitte. 234

[1] veiled [2] MS. Voarchadymye *altered.*

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(40)

For wyse Mercurius is so quicke by kinde,
and gredy, hungrye, that he will devoure
golde, siluer, Tynne; and with their powre him bynde
all in one bodye, lesse then in an howre,
and vnder this, whiche I dare not expresse,
lyes hidden thinges whiche I doo leave to gesse.

(41)

Yet colde I saye that wisdome knittes in bande,
by sage advyce, bothe welth & worldly reyne;
and witte and welth may compasse thinges vnskande,
whiche Mercurye dothe rule, as poetes feyne;
and this I meane by that I tolde before,
contente your thoughte, and serche not any more.

(42)

But yf soo bee (as well yt may in dede)
that these lynckd mettalls may one body make,
therby mee thinkes that Mercurye hathe decreed,
that manne, whiche dothe of eche of them partake,
muste nedes as farr' excell the rest, as they
above all erthly metalls beare the sweye.

(43)

[leaf 11] I, yet not satisfyed with this ex[p]ounde,
to higher muse did stretche my serchinge breyne,
and mongest Astronomers this lesson founde,
that these thre planettes in their lofty reigne
do many greate and secret gyftes bestowe
one mortall creatures, whiche doo lyve belowe.

(44)

for welthye Phebe lendes store of stampèd golde;
And Cynthia guydes the lyfe and helthfull state;
Pheton, fortune and gouermente doth holde;
all whiche three gyftes mighte dwell in one by fate,
for by thaspectes and yoyninge of the same,
these planettes do their vertues in vs frame.

(45)

When this devise had percèd my conceyte,
that theise three goddes mighte powre forthe in one man
these seuerall blessinges, & then wayinge streyte
their seuerall place in Sphere as I did skanne,
swete helpinge comforte cladde my hart in hoope
that further skill wolde bitt the fynall scope.

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(46)

Then I beganne afreshe to rouse *that* witte
*whi*che dulled was by fyndinge oute *that* depte,
& so pursued yt with-oute stayinge fytte,
that at *the* laste, vppon the righte I lepte, 274
& then disclosd the secrete of this riddle,
of the lowest, the seconde, and *the* middle. 276

(47)

But first I was enforc'd, with humble sute, [leaf 11, back]
to skylfull herauld*es* ayde to haue repayre,
to see what thinges they did to them depute;
where I was rydde from all my longe dispaire, 280
for blason sayed in Armes the trycke them thus,
as more at large my penne shall here dyscusse: 282

(48)

The lowest, Luna, with her perle, dost stande
for 'Argente or white,' a coolor fayre to viewe
the myddle, sol, with Topas in his hande,
is called 'or,' a coolor brighte in hue; 286
& next one Jupiter did note to mee
with Saphire blewe, the azurd shewe to bee. 288

(49)

When this was blasde, I nede no longer staye
to plodde & prowle aboute this hidden thinge,
there rested noughte, by this disclosed waye,
but all these three into one forme to bringe, 292
and lerne yf one mannes armes or crest might shewe
these thre riche coolors, borne but of a fewe. 294

(50)

And turninge ofte an olde armoriall booke,
after discourse of manye soundrye cootes—
*whi*che Auncientes scochions I did ouer-looke—
with hidden pointes of armories secret notes; 298
emongest the noblest crestes by vertue rare,
I founde a wighte suche worthy creste that bare. 300

(51)

For there was lynck'd with-in one worthy knott,
The lowest, middle, & highest next the beste, [leaf 12]
Luna, Sol, and Jupiter that gott
the seconde place, were blased in his creste 304
by *whi*che devyse that couertly I fynde,
*whi*che tolde the hydden vertues of his mynde. 306

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(52)

For fyrste, in philosophye, by hym) is borne
the lyons two, of siluer and of tynne,
w*hi*che dothe supporte a golden garbe of corne.
next, with Astronomye for to begynne,
two lyons of lune & Jupiter he beares,
holdinge a sheafe of Sol with glystringe eares.

(53)

Then to discende to secretes hearald*es* veyne,
in vertuous stones, where lerned cu*n*nynge was,
of orient perle and Saphyre, lyons tweine,
w*hi*che do advance a garbe of riche Toopas.
w*hi*che lower yet as I must streyne my quiH,
in coolors thus do blase theire hidden skill.

(54

Two princely beastes he beares of corage bolde,
of argent white, and colord azure blewe,
holdinge a garbe of ore w*hi*che they caH golde,
& thus eche one dothe Stilbons mynde p*ur*sue,
for by discypheringe of these seuerall artes,
are drawen in one these planett*es* seuerall p*ar*tes.

(55

Now howe this riddle fyttes the noble wighte
who beares this creaste of state by due desarte,—
[leaf 12, back] since that these coolors and these metalls brighte
do answere iuste the vertue of his harte,—
yt restes to saye, and so to yoyne the same,
with-oute lewde blemyshe to his flowring fame:

(56)

The lowest in seate I do not hym) accompte,
whose mynde devyne, with gyftes of nature rare,
doth chefest wittes of comon) moulde surmounte,
as one whome Pallas bleste with speciall care;
but gentle lyfe dothe humble him so lowe,
*tha*t low'st in curteous dedes eche doth hym) knowe

(57)

Thus lowest nowe he is by course of kinde,
and then advanc'd to place of myddle state;
for as the sonne in myddle sphere wee fynde,
so is he stald, by dome of heuenly fate,
in myddest of worthye geintryes seuente degree,
a lordly baron) of nobylytie.

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(58)

In *whi*che two thinges, *with* Hermes I consente,
the middle and the lowest ar in sighte.
nowe nothinge wantes to fill vpp his entente,
but next to one for to be brought to lighte; 346
then) is faire Maias[1] sonnes darke hidden dobte,
by darke and princely heroldes skill founde oute. 348

(59

The famous manne w*hi*che gyues this goodly creste,
by wysdomes force, next one beares chefest swaye;
good vertue hym) advancd aboue the reste,
one whome grave counsells burden semes to staye; 352
he reynes and rules; he careth for vs all; [leaf 18]
his depe fore-sight preuentes our thretned fall. 354

(60)

fly Trimagistus, flye! goo hyde thy face!
thy subtill wytte is knowen to mortall menne;
the myuia nowe hathe lost his wondring grace;
thy darkn'd speche in euery pointe wee skanne; 358
& I haue founde one manne w*hi*che restes allonne,
lowest and myddle, and highest next one. 360

(61)

his lyon) Luna, low'st in degree,
his dedes dothe shewe of humble curtesye;
his garbe Sol, in circule myddst wee see,
answere his myddle place, nobilytie; 364
his lyon Jupiter, in seconde Sphere,
is seconde rule, w*hi*che he dothe iustly bere. 366

(62)

for as the golden sheafte is vanced there,
by beastes of seuerall hue, as her cheife holde,
so quene and ladye Iustice euery-where
maynteyned is by bulwarkes doble folde, 370
where wisdome and good gouermente dothe guyde
the rulinge sterne, in calme or boystrous tyde. 372

(63)

This thinge disclosd, that Mercury had sayen),
that suche an noble manne most worthye was,
to reape the frute of all my toylinge peyne
& lamed verse: when they were brought to pas, 376
my gladded sprite redoobled all his yoye
that suche a patron) sholde my woorkes enyoye. 378

[1] ? MS. Maras.

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(64)

[leaf 13, back] As for his lerned skyll in studied arte,
for knowledge depe in tonges of diuerse sounde,
for plenteous vertue of his godly harte,
for Iustice dome, *whi*che dothe in hym) abounde, 382
for curteous dedes shewed to eche wight alyve,
[1]deserues farr bett[1] then my rude muse may gyve. 384

(65)

But what vse I suche nedeles speche in veyne,
(to seme to glose as euill tonges will deme,)
when his wyse woorkes, more famous praise do geine 387
then) I canne speke, *whi*ch meymed make them seme;
And Syracke sayes emongest his lerned sawes,
"prayse no manne, whi[l]st his vitall brethe he drawes."

(66)

Whose sacred heste, thoughe I dare not geinsaye,
but must in willesse silence let[2] to dwell
suche rare exploytes, *per*formed euery daye,
as present age dothe witnesse to excell; 394
In herte I honor yet that Pallas hedde,
& kysse *the* grounde *that* suche good corne hath bredde.

(67)

Not olde foreworne Cecilius, britaine kinge,
almost consum'd by gnawinge tyme & space;
but he *whi*che did from) Auncient Sitcill springe,
lord Burgley, Cecill, borne of gentle race, 400
whome princely garter, *with* his azurd hue,
dothe bewtyfye *with* mede for honor due. 402

(68)

Whose golden *lett*res, ringe into eache eare
a golden sentence, worthye to be toughte,
who[se] princely worde this inglishe sence doth beare,
[leaf 14] 'yll be to hym) *whi*che any yll hath thoughte;' honi soit qui mal y pense
and so, my lorde, reyecte not this *with*e hate,
for nought is mente but honor to yo*ur* state, 408

(69)

By this poore penne of me, vnskilfull wighte,
that here presentes vnto yo*ur* lerned vewe
sir Thopas ryme, not fytt for Chaucers sighte,
in whom the Muses do their force renewe; 412
for in eche gyfte, yt is the chefeste parte
to way the mynde and take the faythfull harte. 414

[1]–[1] MS. *has under these words, in a different hand,* merritts much more. [2] for *altered to* let

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(70)

Deme not the manne by this imperfecte sence;
in brittell glasse is wholsome wyne conteynde;
in peinted talke, and woordes of highe pretence,
dissemblinge lurkes, with falshodde vile disteynde; 418
but as my future followinge dedes do craue,
so lett desertes their guerdoune due to have. 420

(71)

Till whiche, this guyfte with frendly browe receue,
whiche wyse Mercurius coragd mee to sende;
as my hart meanes, so, my good lord, conceve
these haltinge lynes whiche barrein soile doth lende; 424
& yf suche rashe found dede seme worth reproue,
blame not my factes, but threatninge godes aboue 426

finis

Francis Thynne.
: / :/ :/ :/

(Then follows:—A discours vppon the philosophres Armes.

The sacred booke dothe truly tell in speche of heuenly penne
whiche holy Daniell did vnfolde for skill of vertuous menne
&c

[*The arms are painted on the opposite page of the MS.*]

There seem to be no biographical notes, except on leaf 43, back, and 44:—

"This noble knighthoodes fellowshippe perfected fyrst wee finde
by Philippe duke of Burgundye, in yere as comes to mynde,
A thowsande fowre hundred twentye nyne, vnto whiche knightes he gaue
a coolor of golde, brething forthe fyer from flinte, who further haue
appendante to that honours cheyne, Don Jasons Flese of golde,
whose poesy wittily deuis'd, this woorthye sence dothe holde."—G. PARKER.)

See Mr Parker's further extracts from the MS. in the Notes below: note on p. xlix.

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APPENDIX V.

PROPHECIES BY WELSHMEN.

[*Ashmole MS.* 378, *leaf* 22.]

Thalysonne[1] savthe *that* in the liij[th] yere their shalbe a battell in Brytaine, betwene the sede of the blasinge lambe and the sede of the spanishe woman, for the seat of Cadwaldo*ur*. their shalbe great preparinge to battell in those dayes; the rave*n* for hounger shalbe lick to perishe, and yet betwen *the* twoe battell*es* shalbe neue*r* a stroke stroken. Then A pilgrimage to marye in Aken of wome*n* shalbe wofully sought; & after *the* mylde countinaunce of this, m[arye] shall de*part* fro*m* kenyngale, to w*hich* she tooke hir waye, and towarde*s* the light she shaH bare A countinūale heat. A ma*n* of bonde*s* she shaH release by menes Iudgme*nt*. in hir yere shalbe many Tyrante*s* abrode that were in bonde*s*, & they shall sitt strayt in Iudgment to opresse *the* light.

A welch-man called Robart locke vppoñ *the* liiij yeare: G. beinge dominycall leter. he did recyte that A woman wytles shoulde reigne in Cadwaladors seat, and do out the heate of the somm*e*r, and cause paynted cloude*s* to seme bright after the metinge of A lord & A lady in on daye.

these plage*s* shall not ceasse vntill *the* ma*n* god haue *the* full tuicion and strength, and his ministers shall have greate gyftes. And yet I beheld on woman,

[1] ? Taliessin.

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the wife of two men, gyvinge hir honor to *the* man god; & ase for xxx^{ti} dayes shall he execut fyer & sword; & I loked toward *the* Santuary, & ther I sawe *the* throne of *the* vnknown god, & *the* wicked having *the* vpper hand, whetting ther tussh like bores in blude.

David Apiuan sayth these words: "in liiijth I sawe the lyonesse execute great iudgment. I beheld when this troble beganne, ther weir fyve wicked monthes, & in *the* v wicked monthes I save xxx^{ti} euell dayes. out of heaven I beheld A white lambe, and a great scroll in his hand, and mens names writte in with blod, & yet I save the Egles chicken layng hand vppon *the* croune & Septer, and executed *the* sword with bloud xij dayes together; & in these dayes *the* counsell of *the* prisoner shalbe swefter then *the* wynd. & I beheld A white hare standinge in iudgment in Ceasars house, & caste a grime countinaunce A-gaynste *the* former witt of *the* ffox, & he ceased not vntill he conveyed *the* ffox cleane, & no man again in britaine shalbe combred with him; and in those dayes the mone shall losse hur light. Then I beheld A yong coke that crowed wonderos bould, & A young henne did egerly barke, & the lione began to rore; and kent reioysed, & Sussex daunced, & manye chekynes more for gladnes; for now the Egles chickyn is gonne, & *the* widowe of calabrye shall whet hir tuskes, but the bores counsell shalbe of non effecte. & I be-held another sorowe more grevoser then *the* fyrst: great crye wase ther Amongest women betwen the hiest of the sonne & *the* reping of the corne."

Edward Aprian Trevar for the liiijth yere also sayth: "wher is the lionesse *that* executed iustes falsly? for Thomas Buynytes (?) sayth that anne arrow shalbe the destruction of thangry lyonesse."

"Edward Apovell sayth *that the* tong shall cleaue to *the* roffe of hir mouth, & *the* arrowe that shall strike

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hir is death, & [she] shall [have] no tyme of Inward repentance, but shall deliver hir sovle to mans merits: then shall *the* bright Cler sonne begyne to apere./ ./

Also Robart Duce in the same liiijth yere sayth, "*that* A dead man shal Aryse, a kynge whose generation was of a dunne cowe, and generated out of the sea, & this kynge shalbe gouerned one yere by an aungell. vppon Eedward the vj thy time is comme; the profisie sayth then necessarye for god, thou must lose that which other men haue mad strayght; & vnringed swine thou must rote out; & this sayth god, 'thou sonne of man muste asswage *the* prid, mossell *the* mouthe of prechers *that* preache mens dreames:' *the* moste parte of *the* peopl shall saye 'wher are thaye cleane consumed in on yeare.' A Byshoppe beinge no gentillman shall enioye *the* crowne, & vse it as him lysteth for on yeare; & xxviij days shall he bringe many wonders to passe, & then the sonne of man, after iij sorowes, shall occupe the sword, & make euery man & woman offycere, & geue comaundement on payne of death to kyll all *that* were with *the* pye, *the* pykerd, & *the* fulmer; for all that shalbe kylled are knowne by ther marke; and then shalbe sene many A blodye Rochet, & the lione shall hunt *the*[1] bore out of his denne.

[leaf 25, back] "An I. & a Roche shall blede to dethe for their traterous plaie, & *the* yelowe lyone tongles also shall suffer execution), & many also of *the* affutie[2] of the blodye pie; & Immediatlye shall euery man enioye his owne wife a-gayne; and I did see the hedd of the world cleane vanishe awaye, and his dignitye cleane banished out of England. and A chyld with A chaplett had againe in his owne honor;" and Robart Duce speaketh no more of the liiijth, yet he sayth that "the dead man that neuere woman sawe borne, nor neuer

[1] MS. ye the [2] ? affinitie

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man shall se buried, shalbe kinge of syx kyngdomes, and Emperour of Rome."

Owen longheith sayth that "A lyon shalbe generated out of the sea by the full strengthe & natur of A dunne cowe, and that lyone shalbe gouerned by an Aungell, which Aungell shall blede to death. And in the liij^th yere thys lyon shalbe gonne. but verye few shall fynd him, & he shalbe awaie xvj monthes; and after xvj monthes hee shall come agayne, and execute iustice in his fathers house; & that which is darke shall he make lyght, & shall make free waye to the holye Crosse."

David Trevar sayth that the same lyone shall neuere be defyled, & that this is the lxxxxj of the house of Tuheodre that shall geue Armes, & Edward is his name & he shalb[e] crownid Twyse in Englond & once at Rome.

Merleon le Paule sayth "he shalbe the stronge [leaf 24] bull that shall enter in the yerly wynter, & he shall destroye the hedd of the world; & by this tokene shall you knowe him, ffor he shall neuere be borne of A woman. his name shalbe Edward of the house of Tuheodore, & he shalbe bakynge xviij score dayes, lx dayes, & xl dayes, & thene shall he entyer in-to Britaine with thre grevous bestes, A redd lyon, A redd dragone, & A white graye-hownd; & then shall the land of the mone reioyce."

Iohn Aprobardwyn sayth "the sonne of man is caled A commone proverbe maledene steremone for the generation of the Theodorse, otherwise caled tewthers, came out of Englond; and yt is profisied[1] of him that he should kyll his mother, & yet shall have hir blesinge, & the blesinge of god and the britanes. & he shall make glade the people that shalbe out-castes in those dayes, & he shall labour to se the sedde of the egle; but he shall neuer fynd him, nor neuer anye after him,

[1] MS. propised

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& shall make A swifte requiring for *the* shepherdes that he lefte be-hind him. then shall euerye man to his owne livinge agayn, & stablish a lawe in Britaine. ther is no more to speake of him *that* is caled Edward in the liiijth yeare; but in the lvth yere he shall go forth to conquere; & or he shall ceasse, he shall plant a trve religion in syx kyngdons, & shall make A vniuersall pease thoroughout all the worlde."

ffinis ffinis.

[*leaf* 24, *back, blank.*]

[A PROPHECY OF A MOLE, A DRAGON, A LION, AND A WOLF.]

(*Ashmole MS* 378, *leaf* 25.)

[leaf 25] After this lambe shal come a mold warpe, Cursed of goddes mouth, a caytife, A cowarde, an heare; he shall haue an elderly skyne as a gote / & vengeaunce shall falle vpon him for sinne. ¶ In *the* first yere of his regne he shall have, of all good, grett plentie in his lond, & toward him also / & in his londe he shall have great praysinge / till the tyme that he shall suffere his people liue in to moche pryde with-out chastisinge, wherfor god wilbe wrothe ¶ Thenne shall aryse vp a dragon of the north that shalbe full ferse / & shall move warre agaynst the forsayd moule warpe / & shall yeue him battell vpon a stone. Thys dragon shall gader ayene into his company a wolfe, that shall come out of the west to move warre againste *the* forsayd mold warpe in his side / so shall *the* dragone, & bynd their[1] tayles to-gyders ¶ Then shall come A lyon out of Irelond / *that* shall fall in company with them; And thene shall tremble the londe *that* shalbe calede

[1] MS. their the

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Englond, as an aspen lefe / & in that time shall Casteles be felled downe vpon Tamyse. & yt shall seme that Seuerne shalbe drye / for the bodyes that shall [be] deed ther-in, The fower chefe floud*es* in England shall run in blode, & great dread shalbe, & anguish, that shall Arisee.[1] *¶ After *the* mold warpe shall flee, & *the* drago*n*; The lyone, & *the* wolfe, shall them driue Awaye, & *the* l[y]one shalbe w*i*thout them, & the mold warp shall haue no maner of power, save only a shippe wherto he maye winder, & after *that* he shall goo to lond where *the* see is w*i*thdrawne; & afte*r* that, he shall geue *the* third part of his londe, for to haue *the* fourth part in pease & in rest; & after he shall liue in sorowe al his lyftime; & in his tyme *the* hott bathes shalbe could, & after that *the* mold warpe dye, Auenturously & sodenly. Alase for sorow! for he shalbe drowned in A flode of the sea. his sed shalbe-come fatherles in strang lond for euer-more; & then shalle[2] *the* lond be departed into iij partes, that is to saye, to the wolfe, to *the* dragon, & to *the* lyon; & so shal it be for ever-mor. & then shall this lond be called *the* lond of conqueste, & so shall the ryght heyers of Englond Ende. [* leaf 25, back]

[1] MS. Arisee o. [2] MS. shalbe

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APPENDIX VI.

THOMAS CHAUCER'S COMPLAINT ON PARTING FROM HIS WIFE, WHEN HE WENT ON EMBASSY TO FRANCE.

WRITTEN BY LYDGATE.

[*Ashmole MS.* 59, *copied by Shirley, leaf* 45, *back.*]

Here folowþe nexst a compleynte made by Lydegate for þe departing of Thomas Chaucier in-to fraunce by hes *seruaun*tz vpoñ þe kynges ambassate.

Every maner creature
disposed vn-to gentylesse
Booþe of kynde and of nature,
Haþe in his hert moste gladnesse
ffor tabyde / in sooþefastnesse
Where þat his ioye is moste entiere;
[leaf 46] [1]And I live ever in hevynesse,
But whane I. seo my ladye dere.

¶ Eeke every wight / of every kynde,
Is gladde and mury for to abyde,
Whe[n] þat his wille / boþe thought and mynde /
Beo fully sette / on every syde:
And where so / þat I. goo or ryde.
I ne cane be gladde / in no manere,
As god and fortune list *pro*vyde,
But whane I see / my ladye dere.

[1] Heading to this page, ¶ þabsence of Thom[a]s Chaucier by Lidegate.

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¶ Who parteþe oute / of Paradys /
ffrome þat place / so ful of glorie,
Where as mirth, is moste of prys,
And ioye haþe, souereine victorie /
What wonder, whane he haþe memorie
Of al, þat he beo dulh of chere /
ffor I. am ever[1] in Purgatorie,
But whane I. see my ladye dere /

¶ þe sterres of þe heghe heven
ffeyrest shyne / vn-to oure sighţ,
And þe planetys eke. alle seven,
Moste fulsomly / give þeire sighţ,
And Phebus, with hees beemis brighţ,
Gladdest shyneþe / in his spere /
But I. am never / gladde ne lighţ,
Save whane I. see my lady dere /

¶ Eke phebus. in oure emyspere /
Affter þe derknes of þe nighţ,
At his vprist, yolowe as golde clere,
Eorly on morowe / of kyndely righţ,
[2]Whane clowdes blake / haue no mighţ [leaf 46, back]
To chace aweye / þe clowdes clere /
Righţ so frome sorowe I. stonde vprighţ,
Whane þat I. see / my ladye dere /

¶ þe fooles þat flyen, in þe ayre,
And fresly singe / and mirthes make
In May þe sesoun. is so fayre,
With al righţ / hem aughţ awake,
Reioyeþe eche one / with his make /
With þeire hevenly notes clere /
Righţ so al sorowe / in me doþe slake,
Whane þat I see. my[3] ladye dere /

[1] MS. every.
[2] MS. has heading to this page, ¶ Balade by Lidegate.
[3] MS. my my.

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¶ þe herte, þe hynde / in wylde foreste /
Moste lusty beo / of þeire courage /
And every. oþer maner beeste,
Boþe þe tame / and eke sauvage,
Stonden moste at avauntage
In lavndes whane þey reine efoere,
þus ever gladde / is my visage,
Whanne þat I. see / my ladye deere.

¶ I. haue seyne / þat. buk / and doo /
Amonge þe holtis / hoore and graye,
þe Reyndere / and þe wylde Roo /
In mersshes / haue þeire moste playe,
Where þey bee voyde frome al affraye /
Right even soo with-outen were,
Myne hert is gladde / boþe night and daye,
Whane I. looke / on my ladye deere /

¶ What is a fisshe oute of þe see /
[leaf 47] [1]For alle heos seles / silver sheene,
But dede anoone (as man may see.
Or in Ryvers cristal. clene /
Pyke or tenche with fynnes grene,
Oute of þe water whane þey peere /
[2 MS. darejer ?] þus drede / dareþer[2] myn herte keene,
þere I. seo nouȝt / my ladye dere /

¶ þe Ruby stant best in þe ring[1]
Of golde whane it is polissht newe;
þemeraude is aye wele lasting
Whilest it abydeþe / with hert truwe;
þe saphire with his hevenly huwe
[2 MS. Makeþeo ?] Makeþe[3] gounded eyene clere;
þus my ioye / doþe ay renuwe,
Whane þat I. see my ladye dere.

[1] MS. has heading to this page, ¶ Lydegate / see my ladye dere.

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¶ þe floures on þeire stalkes vnclose,
Springinge / in þe bawmy mede;
þe lylies, and þe swate roos,
þe dayesyes / who takeþe hede. 84
Whane Phebus / doþe his beemis vnsprede,
In somer / as men may wele leere /
So gladde am I. in thoughẗ and dede /
Whane þat I. seo my ladye dere /. 88

¶ In somer whane I seo / þe sheene[1] soñe /
Haþe shewed bright a gret[e] space,
And towardes night, þe skyes doñe,
His cleernesse / doþe aweye chace / 92
Right so dedly / and pale of face /
Mortal of looke / and sory chere /
I. waxst, suche woo / me did enbrace
At parting. of my lady deere / 96

¶ Summe folke / in signe of hardynesse,
[2]Taþe hem to colour þat is rede / [leaf 47, back]
And summe, in tokenyng of clennesse,
Weren white / yee may take hede; 100
And summe, grene / for lustynesse;
But I ellas / in black appere,
And ever shall / in sorowes drede,
Til þat I. seo my ladye dere / 104

¶ Now god þat art so eternal
And hast al thing in governaunce,
And arte also / Inmortal,
Stabled with-oute variaunce; 108
þowe guyde, lorde / so my chaunce /
Of þy power / moste entiere /
þowe sone abregge my penaunce,
þat I may seo / my lady dere / 112

[1] MS. I sheene.
[2] MS. heading, Lidegate.

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¶ Go litell bille / in lowly wyse,
Vn-to myne hertis souereyne /
And preye to hir / for til devyse
Summe relees / of my mortal peyne;
Whane þou art at hir. þou reste ne feyne
Only of pitee / hir to requere,
þat of mercy / sheo not disdeyne,
To beo my souereine. ladye dere.

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APPENDIX VII.

Courte of Venus (see p. 138-141.)

THE contents of the first page of the Douce fragment, 92 b, leaf xxxi front, sign. E i, and the top of its back, are as follows :—

Venus [leaf xxxi]

which had me in the snare
of pensyue thought and payn.

She saw that faithfully
I dyd my hert resynge
to take it gentylly.
she dyd nothing repyn.

Wherfore away all payn.
for now I am right sure
pyte in hir doth rayn
that hath my hert in cur. Finis.

¶ Dryuen by dissyr to set affection.
a great way alas aboue my degre
chosen I am I thinke by election.
to couet that thing that will not be.

I serue in loue not lyke to sped.
I loke alas a lytell to hye.
agaynst my will I do in ded.
couet that thing that will not be.

My fansy alas doth me so bynd
that I can se no remedy
but styll to folow my folych mind.
and couet that thing that wyll not be. [leaf xxxi, back]

I hopyd well whan I began
and sens the proue is contrary.
why shold I any longer than.
couet that thing that wyll not be.

But rather to leaue now at the last.
then styll to folowe fanzy.
content with the payn that is past
and not couet that thing that will not be.
Finis.

[*Follows* :—The pylgrymse tale.]

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NOTES.

p. vi. *Lancaster Herald.* The 5th Herald, under the 3 Kings of Arms. A document in the Lansdowne MS. 108 (art. 95, leaves 177-8), says that "The Societie and Corporation of the officers of Armes consisteth of xiij persons, wherof Three be Kinges of Armes,—videlicet, *Garter* (principall Kinge of Armes and chief Officer of Armes for the Order, having yerly fee of xl^{li}), *Clarencieux* (Kinge of Armes of the East, West, and South partes of the realme of England from the ryver of Trent southward), *Norroy* (Kinge of Armes of the East, West, and North partes of the realme of England from the ryver of Trent Northward), Eche of them receavinge yearly fee of xx poundes; Six be Heraldes of Armes—*Somerset*, *Chester*, *Windesore*, *Richemonde*, *Lancaster*, *Yorke*,—Euery of them receavinge yearly fee of xx. markes; Fower be Poursuyvantes of Armes, viz. *Rouge-Dragon*, *Rouge-Croix*, *Blewmantle*, *Portcullis*, Euery of them receavinge yearly fee of x. poundes." Of these "Some be appoynted to direct and to gouerne in the Societie, as *Garter* . . . *Clarencieulx* . . . and *Norroy* . . . Some be apoynted to be dyrected and governed, and to obey, As All the Six *Heraldes*, All the fower Poursiuantes, In all matters concerninge the Princes service, or otherwise tendinge to the regiment of the Societie, or their owne emolument and profyte."

p. vi. The Adulterer Thynne mentiond by Erasmus. *Desiderii Erasmi Epistolae.* Epist. CCCCXXXV [A. D. 1519] *Opera*, Lugd. Bat. MDCCIII, vol. iii, col. 454 (at foot). Speaking of Joannes Vitrarius, a Franciscan monk, Erasmus says, "Jamdudum rogabis, scio, quis hujus viri fuerit exitus. Non solum displicuit Commissariis, sed etiam suis fratribus aliquot, non quod non probarent vitam, sed quod ea melior esset, quam ipsis expediebat. Totus inhiabat in lucrum animarum, cæterum ad instruendam culinam, aut exstruendos parietes, ad illectandos dotatos adolescentes segnior erat quam illi vellent: etiamsi hoc quoque non negligebat vir optimus, duntaxat si quid ad sublevandam necessitatem pertineret, verum non ut plerique præpostere curabat ista. Imo quendam etiam *Thynnum* alienarat: is erat aulicus, ac prorsus aulicis moribus, foris per omnia cubilia se volvens, passim matrimonia aliena contaminans, & uxorem pro derelicta habens, quam habebat & claro genere natam, & aliquot liberorum matrem. Per occasionem evenit, ut hæc quoque seduceretur: illico rejecit mulierculam primo lapsu, qui sibi tot lapsus ignoverat. Illa tandem longius etiam prolapsa

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ad extremam devenit calamitatem, præter infamiam, scabiei etiam, quam *Gallicam* vocant, obnoxia. Hic cum omnibus tentatis, quo uxorem marito reconciliaret, nihil ageret, nec durus ille, vel affinium respectu, vel liberorum communium affectu, vel sua ipsius conscientia, qui tot adulteriis, qui suo neglectu occasionem dedisset, flecteretur, reliquit hominem ceu deploratum. Is paulo post ex more, petasonem, aut armum suillum misit. Cæterum *Joannes*, nam tum *Guardianum* agebat, mandarat janitori, ne quid reciperet nisi se vocato. Cum adesset munus, vocatus est: ibi famulis, qui deferebant heri nomine, "Referte, inquit, onus vestrum unde attulistis; nos non recipimus munera diaboli." Itaque tametsi non ignorabant illius vitam ac doctrinam esse seminarium egregium Euangelicæ pietatis, tamen quoniam non perinde conducebat proventui culinæ, jussus est deponere *Guardiani* munus, quo nihil ille fecit lubentius: & suffectus est illi quidam, quem ego novi, aliunde adscitus homo non dicam qualis, aut quam alteri dissimilis, in summa is mihi visus est, cui nemo prudens cauletum suum vellet committere: sive hunc obtruserunt, quia cupiebant abesse, sive is visus est ad rem idoneus . . ."

p. vi, vii. *Anne Bond, and Sir John Thynne.* The pedigree of the Thynne family in Hoare's *Wiltshire*, vol. i, p. 60 of Heytesbury hundred, which pedigree Hoare says was approvd by the Heralds' Office, shows that our William Thynne (or Boteville),—the grandson of John Botevile with whom the pedigree starts,—was uncle of Sir John Thynne who built Longleat (1567—1580) and left it unfinisht at his death. Sir John fought gallantly against the Scotch at Musselburgh, and was knighted on the field while his wounds were bleeding. He was the favoured councellor of the Protector Somerset, and, to judge from his portrait, a wary resolute long-headed fellow.

Hoare gives the name of William Thynne's wife as Bawde, "Anne, daughter and co-heir of Henry Bawde;" and says that they had children,

Francis Thynne, Lancaster Harold, ob. 1611 [? 1608; p. ix above] married daughter of . . Rivers;

3 daughters—

1. Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Pigott,
2. Anne, wife of Rich. Maudley,
3. Isabel, wife of Geo. Pagett.

p. vii. Sir John Thynne (knighted by the Duke of Somerset in the camp at Roxburgh on Sept. 28, 1547) was Francis T.'s cousin, was an M.P. in 1546 when he was only 24; was afterwards, in Edw. VI's reign, steward of the household to the Protector Somerset; and in Queen Mary's reign, comptroller of the Lady [or Princess] Elizabeth's household. *Stem. Bot.* clii. 'He shared largely in the spoil of the Abbeys, and justified the Wiltshire proverb recorded by Aubrey—

Hopton, Horne, Smith, Knockmaile, & Thynne,
When Abbots went out, they came in.

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Longleat was built by him on the site of a dissolved priory.' It took 12 years in building (p. clxxvii).

p. viii. *Camden's Estimate.* Camden's words in his *Britannia*, iii. 7, col. 2, are, "Francis Thinn, who has long pursued the study of English antiquities with equal application and judgement."

p. ix. *William Thynne rests beside his wife, &c.* This 'beside' is more than doubtful. Col. Chester writes, "You will find the Inscription on Wm Thynne's tomb, and some account of Thynne, in the Rev. Joseph Maskell's 'Collections in illustration of the Parochial History and Antiquities of the Ancient Church of All Hallows, Barking' (London, 4to, 1864)—(but Maskell was not very correct usually, and his statements must be tested).

"I see the *date* is wrong. Mr Maskell says Thynne's wife Anne, mother of Francis, was *buried by his side.* As in my voluminous and careful collections from the All Hallows register I do not find her burial recorded, I doubt not Mr Maskell is in error, and was misled by the figure of the lady on the brass. I suppose it was not contemplated that she would twice re-marry."

p. xiv. *Stowe's* licenses to beg and put alms-basins up in the City churches.

The *Musists*, though themselues they please,
Their Dotage els finds Meede nor Ease;
Vouch't *Spencer* in that Ranke preferd,
Per Accidens, only interr'd
Nigh Venerable *Chaucer*, lost,
Had not kinde *Brigham* reard him Cost,
Found next the doore Church-outed neere,
And yet a Knight, Arch-Lauriat Heere.

Adde *Stows* late antiquarious Pen,
That annald for vngratefull Men:
Next, Chronicler, omit it not,
His licenc't Basons little got;
Liu'd poorely where he Trophies gaue,
Lies poorely There in noteless graue.

1612. W. Warner. Before *The Fovrteenth Booke of Albions England.* To the Reader. (sign. A 2.)

The Licenses or Letters Patent were dated May 8, 1603, and 26 Oct. 1604. The first was seconded by a letter from King James in 1603, which, with the Second License, is printed in John Strype's edition of Stowe's *Survey*, 1720, p. xij-xiij. The License of 1604 was for Stowe or his Deputy "to ask, gather, receive, and take the alms and charitable benevolence of all our loving Subjects whatsoeuer, inhabiting within our Cities of London and Westminster" &c. &c., in Churches or other Places; and the Parsons, Vicars and Curates were to stir people up "to extend their liberal Contributions in so good and charitable a Deed." Strype's Life of Stow—"Memorials of this honest good Citizen" p. xxvij—is well worth reading. It is full of sympathy for the worthy tailor and his work, and must touch every student. What a member of the E. E. Text Soc. Stow 'd have made!

"He was also a curious observer of Manuscripts, and a diligent Procurer of them to himself, wheresoever he could. He was mightily delighted with the Sight of a fair Bible in large Vellum (the fairest that

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ever he saw) written by one *John Coke*, a Brother of St *Bartholomew* Hospital, at the age of Threescore and Eight Years. p. xviij, col. 2.

"He affected likewise old printed Books, and was a great Collector of them, . . the Names of divers whereof we mentioned before, *An.* 1568, when by Order of Council his Study was searched for Superstitious Books. p. xix.

"Stow was a true Antiquarian, in that he was not satisfied with Reports, or with the Credit of what he found in Print; but had recourse to Originals. He knew how much falshood is commonly thrust upon Readers, either by the Carelessness of Authors, or by taking up things too credulously, and upon slight Grounds, or upon Hearsays and the Credit of others. But *Stow* made use of his own Legs (for he could never ride) travelling on Foot to many Cathedral Churches, and other Places, where ancient Records and Charters were: and with his own Eyes to read them." p. xx. See note to *Hindwoords*, p. xliv.

p. xxi. Mr Martin sends me a few corrections, &c., as to Thynne's appointments: line 2, Essex, ? Sussex. Ric. ? John, Shurley. line 5, the Manor of Cleobury Barnes was in the lordship of Cleobury, parcel of the Earldom of March. Last line: Stoke Clymslond was in the diocese of Exeter.

In the State Papers are mentions of a Mr Thynne, servant of the Earl of Hertford in 1545-6.

p. xxii. *Oath of the Controller of Customs.*

[*Ashm. MS.* 1147, iv, *leaf* 77.]

The Othe of the Comptroler of the Customes.

Ye shall swere, that well and faithfully ye shall serve the kinge in thoffice of Comptroller of the Customes and the kinges Subsedies in the porte of L[ondon]; and faithfully ye shall enter the thinges customeable which shall cum to the saide porte, or passe from the same. And that ye shall take noe gifte for your office doinge, nor for non other thinge which may fall to the disadvauntage of the kinge. Nor ye shall suffer noe merchandises nor noe other thinges customeable to passe out of the said porte without paying of due custome. And that ye shall doe the said office, and dwell vpon the same, in your proper person, without puttinge any Substitut vnder you. And ye shall write the rolles by your owne hande demesned. And the proffite of the kinge ye shall awayte to doe as moche [p. 78] as in you is, accordinge to your knowledge and to your power. Soe god helpe you, and the holye Evangelistes.

p. xxii. *William Thynne's Erith tithes.* Mr C. T. Martin has just (Sept. 30) told me of the two following letters from William Thynne to Secretary Cromwell:—*State Papers, Miscellaneous Chapter House Records*, Vol. 43, Nos. 20, 21.

No. 20. Sir, In my moste herty maner I commende me vnto your maistershipe, and am informed that ye will fynde an office of the Landes of Cristechurche to the kynges vse. Sir, I beseche you that it

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may please you that my Indenture of the parsonage of Lesones & Erith, whiche berith date the ij[d] day of February in the xxij yere of the Reygne of our souerain Lorde the kyng, & ys for the space of iiij[xx] xix [= 99] yerys, payng yerly vj li xiij s iiij d therfore, may be founde in the sayd office: it is tolde me that, in case it so be, it wylbe a greate suerte to me hereafter; and in doing herof ye bynde me to do you & yours suche pore pleasure as may lye in my smale power; & besydes that, bynde me & myne to pray for you, as knowes god, who haue you in his kepyng! from Eltham this present Thursday, by the rude hande of yours at commandement.

W. Thynne.

Addresst, To the Right worshipfulle maister Cromvell, on of the Kynges moste honourable Counsele, this be delyuerd.

No. 21. Sir, In my herty maner I commende me vnto you, and in like maner pray you to take so moche payne for me when ye do make your boke of the hole valewe of the landes of Cristechurche, as to valewe the parsonage of Eryth & lesones at x li; and yet notwithstandyng I shalbe no sauer, for I moste, be sydes this x li, pay yerely lx s for almes corne. In this helpyng me will [= while] tyme ys, ye bynde me herafter to do you suche pore pleasure as may lye in my smale power, whiche ye may be as sewer of as ye ar of your moste deryste frynde, as knowes god, who contenvwe [you] in long lyfe & good helth: this presand saterday, by the rewed hande of your own

W. Thynne.

Sir, the breche ys inned.

Addresst, To the Right worshipfule maister Cromewell, this be delyuered.

There is nothing about William Thynne in the other Calendars and Historical MSS. Commission Reports yet publisht. References to large masses of Thynne letters, in the 16th and 17th centuries, are in the Hist. MSS. Com. 3rd Report, p. 199.

p. xxxix. *The inscription on Wm. Thynne's Tomb.* Mr Maskell, author of 'The Ancient Church of All Hallows, Barking,' has been good enough to copy for me the inscription on the restored Brass to Wm. Thynne. He says that "Stowe is not quite correct even in those parts of the *ancient* inscription which still remain. Stowe is by no means always literally correct."

"Here lyeth M. Will[m]. Thynne Esq[re] one of the Masters of the honourable household to King Henrie VIIIth our soveraign Lord. He departed from the prison of this frayle body the Xth day of August Anno Dom. 1546 in the XXXVIIIth yeere of our said Soveraigne Lord the King; whose bodye, & every part thereof, in the last daye shall be raised up againe at the sound of the loud trumpet. In whose coming, that we may all joyfully meet him, our heavenly Father grant to us, whose mercies are so great towards us that he freely offereth to all

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them that earnestly repent their sins everlasting life, through the death of his dearly beloved Son Jesus, to whom be everlasting praises. Amen."

The discrepancy between the two versions Mr Maskell has kindly explained to me:—

"Emanuel Hospital, Westminster, Sept. 7, 1875.—Dear Sir, The tomb and inscription of Wm. Thynne was restored at my suggestion by the Marquess of Bath in 1860-61. When, with the assistance of one of the Churchwardens, I took a rubbing of the Memorial brass, I found the early part and many letters of the original inscription obliterated. Of the first part, only the letter *y* remained. Acting on my own judgment, and with the advice of others, I wrote out the inscription from the letters which remained, taking the *y* as the second letter of *lyeth*, and this was placed on the restored brass. The Marquess never saw the tomb, but I believe Messrs Waller sent him a rubbing of it. After the restoration was complete, I became acquainted with the original inscription, and I learned from it, and from an increasing knowledge of archæology, many things of which I was very ignorant when I first began to explore the church of All-Hallows, Barking. I began to make collections towards the history of the parish, and those collections were (somewhat immaturely) published at the desire of friends. If they are worth your consulting, there is an interleaved copy in the British Museum Library. Please to remember that I call them merely 'collections,' and I hope they may be useful with all their imperfections to others better able to put them into a more complete shape. Thus, you will find a little about Wm Thynne, and a copy of his will on p. 50—52. This copy was taken for me by Mr George Corner, F.S.A., and was printed from his abbreviated MSS. All the early part of the volume was unfortunately corrected for the press in my absence from England, and not by me. This copy of the Will contains only the *substance* of the Testament, and is by no means a correct 'orthographic' copy.

"But to return. When I learned the true inscription from Stowe I showed it first to our churchwardens,—who would not hear of 'Pray for the Soule,'—and then to the Ordinary, the late Archdeacon Hale. By the latter I was informed that the inscription 'Pray for the soule' would be illegal, and could not be restored, and I had already learned that all inscriptions savouring of purgatory had been obliterated throughout the church; I was advised therefore to let the matter rest. It never occurred to me till I saw Stowe's work that the inscription could have begun '*pray for the soule*' because of the very *protestant* character of the remainder of the Inscription.—I am faithfully yours, J. MASKELL."

p. xlviii. "*Francis Thynne never in any University.*" Wood in his *Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, ii. 107, puts him at both Oxford and Cambridge, and so misled the Messrs Cooper when preparing their *Ath. Cantab.* Wood says,

"Francis Thynne . . was educated in gramaticals in Tunbridge school in Kent . . where being fitted for higher learning by Jo. Proctor,

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master thereof, . . was thence sent to this university, at which time several of his sirname of Wilts, studied there; & one of both his names, and a knight's son of the same county, was a commoner of Magd. coll. in 1577. Whether our author Franc. Thynne went afterwards to Cambridge, or was originally a student there before he came to Oxon, I cannot justly say."

p. xlix. *Francis Thynne's first antiquarian work.* Mr G. Parker sends me these further notes on the *Ashm. MS.* 766.

"An epistle dedicatorye of the booke of Armorye of Claudius Paradyne

"Dedicated to 'sir Williame Cecill, knighte, lorde burghleye.' . . . . . 'The thinge whiche presently I presente, I must confesse for the devyce to be but meane; for the order, of smale trauayle; for the matter, of litle valure; & for the necessary vse, not nedefull at this instante tyme; beinge but the geneologye and mariages of the noble howses of france, a forreine Realme vnto vs.' . . 'And yet to one addicted to serche Auncient perdegrees, gyven to the honorable knowledge of Armorye . . . . I doo not dobte but this worke of Claudius Paradyne (somewhat bewtyfied to the eye by my endevor and charge, althoughe somewhat stuffed with envyous corruptione, or rather, ignorance of the auctor,) may brede some swete plesure in thee readinge, & good proffyt in the vnderstandinge (thoughe yt be not composed in the highest style, for the manner of penninge yt; nor with the highest matter, for substance in devysinge of yt,) yf wee do but barely consider this (&c.) . . . . . And so I ende: from Barmondsey Streathe the 2 of Auguste 1573, your Lordships to commaunde to his vttermoste endevor

Francis Thynne.'

p. xlix. Ashmole MS. 766.

'A dyscourse vppon ye creste of the lorde Burghley.
[printed above, p. 103.]
Another discourse vppon the Philosophers Armes.'

It begins with a description of the interpretation by Daniel of the writing on the wall during the feast given by 'Balthassar thassyrian kinge.'

The heathen gods are often mentioned in the poem, with coloured illustrations. Erasmus is quoted, also Guido Bonatus, king David, & 'Plynye': he says 'I will defyne what thinge an ecclipse is'; and a drawing of it is above.

'Who [Cuspianus] sayes in yere frome Christe his birthe . . . (p. 44.)
A thowsande fowre hundred & fifteene, this order did begynne
In the noble house of Austria; for in the yere aforesayed
the *Christ*ians at Nicopolis by turkes beinge dismayed
amongst the reste at that lost fielde Donne Johne which was ye sonne
of bolde Philippe beinge take[n] prisoner when *that* battell was woonne
by Amurathes themperour . . . .
and beinge broughte into that ile of ye see Euxinus
to whome the fame of historyes eche one did there discusse

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of the golden flese of Phrixius, and *that* Seint Andrewe there
had fyrste the sede of Christes gospell preched in eche place where
of that same Ile, this Johne then beinge moued *with* propheoye
of a turkyshe Astrologer *whi*che was call'd Astolgande,
this noble order of the flese he fyrst did take in hande . . .

Mentions Colchos Isle, Medea, Jason, Morpheus, Cupid, Claudianus, Phœbus, Deucalions thessalye, Mars, Saturn, Eolus, Hermes the Kinge, Alexandrye, Macedonia, Ptolomye, Cleopatra, Venus, Mars, Mercurye, Jupiter, Museus, Orpheus, Hermes, Beda, Gemini, Castor and Pollux, Vulcane, Salamander, Aristotle, Bonus of Ferraria philosopher, Ovid, Plato, Hermes trismegistus, metals and precious stones, &c &c.

'And so haue the philosophers obscur'd their secret skill [p. 85, back]
with heaped hills of names confus'd (lest other at their will
*whi*che wicked were, sholde fynde this arte, & the hole world shold spill.
. . . . for in effecte the arte is nought but feblees weme[n]s werke
. . . . The author*es* cheife of *whi*che · same were Hermes trimegistus,
. . . . . of later tyme sprange from that roofe *the* lerned Reymund Lully,
the inglishe frier olde Bacone, & the good britishe Riplye,
with Arnolde of the newe towne, & the wise & princely legate
the famous graue Sir Geffray chaucer broug[ht]e (? *altered to* come)
to light but of late
the morall Gower, and Bumbelim who clerkly did compose
the shyninge starr of Alchymye in romaine tong & prose.
Eke the inglishe philosopher Johne Garland *whi*che did penne
this arte in later phrase . . . .
Then [Thomas] Noorton . . of whome Bristowe may bragge,
in lerninge worthy to bee first, in tyme thoughe he were lagge,
as lyvinge in the yere of Christe seuenty seuen aboue,
a thowsande and fowre hundred, as his owne wort*es* well do prove.
When they of truthe haue not one yote but counterfeiting wayes, [lf 86]
the *whi*che, Chaucer and Norton) dothe most plenteously vnfolde.
And humbly thus comyttinge me & this my simple stile [lf 88]
Vnto yo*ur* Lordshipps furtherance, for whome I did compile
this rude and indigested chaos / in lyke sort comending
Yo*u* and yo*ur* honorable state · to heuenly Joues blessinge,
This metalls Metamorphosis · is nowe ended by mee
in yere of xx *Christe* a Thowsande fyue hundred seuenty three
Francis Thynne.

The table of the auctors receyted in this discourse, (2 pages,) follows—Albertus magnus, Alanus, Anaxagoras, Aristoteles, Ars chimea, Avicenna, . . . Haly de iudicijs astrorum, Hardinge englishe croniele . . . Scala philosophorum, . . Rosarium philosophorum, . . Suidas, . . Turba philosophorum.

p. liv. *The White Lion.* "In the *Surrey Archæological Collections*, vol. 3, pp. 193—207, there is a paper entitled "Further Remarks on some of the ancient Inns of Southwark, by W. H. Hart," which con-

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tains petitions of prisoners in the *White Lion*, from 1628 to 1665, with correspondence thereon, and a petition of Stephen Harris in 1662, who was candidate for the post of keeper of the prison. Harris obtained his desire, and afterwards took as a partner Joseph Hall, who fell into disgrace from his wrongful actions. The paper also contains a territorial history of the White Lion from 1654 to 1798, when it was ordered to be taken down."—H. B. Wheatley.

p. lxv. *F. Thynne's Lists or Catalogues.* 'John Vowell *alias* Hooker, gentleman,' was a fellow-sinner with Francis Thynne. He put-in 'A catalog of the bishops of Excester,' pages 1300-1310.

p. lxv. W. Nicolson was successively Bp. of Carlisle, Bp. of Derry, and Archbp. of Cashel. His book alluded to is "The English Historical Library. In Three Parts. Giving a Short View and Character of most of our Historians either in Print or Manuscript: With an Account of our Records, Law-Books, Coins, and other Matters Serviceable to the Undertakers of a General History of England. The Second Edition Corrected and Augmented. By W. Nicolson, Arch-deacon (now Bishop of Carlisle. London . . . . M.DCC.XIV." (1714). He says of Francis Thynne, p. 71, "Holinshead frequently owns the great assistance he had from *Fran. Thynne*, sometime (in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*) *Lancaster-Herald*, and an eminent Antiquary. He [Holinshed] has been severely treated by Sir Thomas Craig[1], for some Insolencies which that Learned Gentleman suppos'd him guilty of, in Relation to the Kingdom of *Scotland:* Whereas (in Truth) that part of the Book no farther concern'd poor Mr *Holinshead*, than as the whole was sheltered under his Name . . . The common Books of Holinshead's History are visibly Castrated: above Fourty Pages (from p. 1491. to 1536.) being omitted. I have seen one[2] Copy which supplies this Defect; and shews manifestly [?] that it was occasion'd by *F. Thynne's* singular Respects to the Lord Cobham, at that Time very unseasonable. All that's left out [?] relates to Royal Grants in favour of that unfortunate Peer and his Ancestors: And his Disgrace [not] happening at the very Time of this Impression, it seems to have been thought Wise in this Continuer to leave out the whole Matter, reserving no more than a single Copy of the whole to himself. I am the rather inclin'd to make this Conjecture, because this Book is beautify'd with the Blazon of the Arms of the great Men, in the course of the History, from the Conquest to the latter End of *Edward* III. (in their proper Colours) fairly drawn in the Margin."

p. ciii. *John Stow.* William Harrison, the Essex parson, in his *Description of England* 1587 (1st ed. 1577), which I am now editing for the New Shakspere Soc., 1876, gives Stow a good character:—

"But hereof let this suffice, & in steed of these enormities, a table shall follow of the [Law] termes, conteining their beginnings and endings, as I haue borrowed them from my freend *Iohn Stow*, whose studie is the onelie store house of antiquities in my time, and he

[1] *Scotland's* Sover. 8vo. Lond. 1595, per totum. [2] D. Episc. *Eliens.*

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worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour."—*Holinshed* i: my reprint, p. 207.

p. cv. Anstis's MS. *Hist. of Officers* in the Heralds' Office. As this compil'd Life of Francis Thynne speaks with authority as to some of his MSS., I print the rest of it here:—

"There is nothing publishd of his works besides Certain Histories concerning Embassadours & their functions, dedicated by him to his Good Lord Wm Lord Cobham, printed long after[1] his death; and the divers Successions or Catalogues of the Great Officers of state published in Hollinsheads History, in which booke there are many pages omitted, occasioned by m^r^. Thynnes singular respects to the Lord Cobham, whose disgrace happening at the time of his publication, it seems to haue been thought wise to leaue out the whole, reserving (as a Right Reverend Author[2] saith) no more than a single copy of the whole to himself: which later is a mistake, for there are more than one still remaining. It is to be lamented that in these printed Lists, the proofs, Vouchers, and Authorities were not inserted, which are constantly quoted in those MSS. of m^r^. Thinne that the Collector hath perused, and even in that part of the Genealogical History of Cobham[3] now in his Custody. The Annals of Scotland from 1571 to 1586 are of his writing[4], with the Catalogues of the Regents, Dukes, and Chancellors, in that Kingdome &c. He composed also the Catalogues of English Cardinalls and Chancellors of England; and there remain in Mss. divers Treatises, as a discourse of Arms, Collections of severall sorts of Antiquities, Miscellanies of the Treasury, Epitaphia siue Monumenta sepulchrorum, Anglice et Latine quam Gallice, with Notes on, and Corrections of, Chaucers works[5], which comment on Chaucer. He had an intention to haue published as an addition to the Edition of that Author made by his father when he was Clerk of the Kitchin to H. 8. In the late Bp. of Ely's Library[6] was his Original History of Dover Castle and the Cinque Ports, to which He referrs in a MS. now with the Collector[7]; And in the Cotton Library are preserved his Collections out of Domus regni Angliæ[8], Nomina Episcoporum in Somerset[9], Collectanea Saxonica de donationibus a Regibus Eadfrido, Eadgaro et Edwardo. Catalogus Episcoporum Bathoñ & Welleñs, a Book of various Collections[10], et Commentarij de Historia et rebus Britannicis[11], and a learned letter touching the Heralds. Besides these, there remain in this Collectors custody, the following peices finished by him, A discourse of Arms[12], The plea between the Advocate and Anti-Advocate

[1] London, 1651.
[2] Bp. Nicholson's English Library, p. 71 (see p. lxv above).
[3] G. x. penes me [Anstis], p. 50.
[4] Anth. à Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. i. p. 319.
[5] Speght's Edition of Chaucer.
[6] Bp. Nicholson's preface to the English Hist. Library (p. xiv, ed. 1714).
[7] G. x. penes me, p. 46. [8] Julius C. 8. [9] Vitell. E. 5.
[10] Cleopatra C. III. [11] Faustina D. 8. [12] C. 7.

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concerning the Bathe and Batchelour Knights, wherein are shewed many Antiquities touching Knighthood, wrote by him in 1605; The History and liues of the Lord Treasurers continued to , probably the remainder was never finished in that method, by reason of his disappointment in not supplying at first one of the vacancy's then in the College of Arms abouementioned, and by the death of the Lord Burleigh soon afterwards; a Tract of the names and Arms of the Earl-Marshalls, with some materialls relating to their power and Jurisdiction; Divers Collections out of MS. Historians, Abbey Registers, Private Evidences in 4 Volumes in fol.[1] The death of this laborious Officer is plased by m^r^ Wood[2] in 1611; but it must happen sooner, since He never surrender'd his patent, and that to his Successor is dated in Nov. 1608."

p. 8. *The Pilgrim's Tale.* See Appendix I, p. 77, and Notes, below.

The other *Courte of Venus* is T. Rolland's, 1575 (?). On Valentine's day, gay young *Esperance* praises Venus, while the grave *Disperance* abuses her. Esperance calls on Venus; she appears, and blows her horn for her nymphs. They advise her to try the culprit Disperance. The Seven Sages, the Nine Muses, the Nine Worthies, the ten Sibyls, the three Fates, all successively refuse to defend Disperance, and reproach him for abusing Venus. At last, Vesta undertakes his defence. The trial proceeds; Disperance is convicted, and put in the will of Venus. She orders him to be punisht and imprisond; but on the entreaty of Esperance, &c. remits the punishment on Disperance's promise to serve her. She christens him *Dalliance;* and dances, tourneys and feastings end the book, which is very prolix and dull, though luckily not very long.

p. 66. *Ordeal by Fire.* See William Harrison's account of the procedure in this kind of trial, on pages 194-9 of my edition of his *Description of England* for the New Shakspere Society, 1876.

p. 77, *Appendix* I. *Courte of Venus*, and Mr Bradshaw's note, p. 76. Mr W. Christie-Miller of Britwell (Burnham, Bucks) has been kind enough to copy for me the beginnings of all the poems in his father's unique sheet of *The Courte of Venus*, as follows:—

(Title) The
Courte of
Venus. Newly
and diligently cor-
rected with many pro-
per Ballades newly
amended, and also
added thervnto
which haue not
before bene
imprin-
ted.

[1] B. 2.; D. 3.; E. 8.; E. 9. [2] Vol. i, p. 319.

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The Prologue.

In the moneth of may when the new tender grene
Hath smothly couered the ground that was bare
Poudred with flours, so wel be sene
I would haue brought my hart out of care
And as I walked in the wood so fayre
Thycke of grasse among the floures swete
And many a [1]hoisome herbe fayre vnder the fete.

(14 more stanzas, then)

¶ Thus endeth the prologue, and hereafter foloweth the new court of Venus.

My penne take payne a lytle space
to folow the thing that doth me chase
and hath in hold, my hart so sore
And when thou hast this brought to passe:
My pen I praye the wryte no more.
(And 5 more stanzas.)
Finis.

My lute awake performe the last
Labour that thou and I shal wast,
And end that I haue new begone
For when this song, is gon and past
My lute be stil for I haue done.
(And 6 more stanzas.)
Finis.

To whom should I sue to ease my payne
To my mysters, nay nay certayne
For feare she should me then disdayne
I dare not sue, I dare not sue.
(And 5 more stanzas.)
Finis.

Dysdaine me not without desert
Nor leaue me not so sodeynly
Sence wel ye wot that in my hart
I meane nothing but honesty
Dysdayne me not.
(And 4 more stanzas.)
Finis.

[1] *sic*

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Fortune what ayleth the
Thus for to banyshe me
Her company whom I loue best,
For to complayne me
Nothing auayleth me
Adew farewel this nights rest.

(And 4 more stanzas.)

Finis.

I may by no meanes surmyse
My fantasy to resyst
But after the old gyse
To cal on had I wyst
And thought it to suffyce
That agayne I shal haue none
Yet can I not deuyse
To get agayne myne owne.

(And 4 more.)

Finis.

If fantasy would fauour
As I deserue and shal
My loue my lady paramour
should loue me best of al.

(And 8 more stanzas.)

During of payne and greuous smart
Hath brought me lowe & wōderous weake
that I cānot cōsort my hart
Why sighest thou my hart & wil not breake.

(And 5 more stanzas.)

Finis.

Now must I lern to faine
And do as other do
Seing no truth doth raine
That I may trust vnto
I was both true & playne
No one and to no mo
And vnto me againe
Alas she was not so.

(And 5 more stanzas.)

Finis.

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Loue whom you lyst and spare not
Therwyth I am content
Hate whom you lyst and spare not
For I am indyfferent.

(And 4 more stanzas.)

Finis.

Meruaile no more al tho
The songes I sing do mone
For other life then woe
I neuer proued none
And in my hart also
Is grauen with letters depe
And many thousands mo
The flouds of teares to-wepe.

(And 3 more stanzas.)

Finis.

Shal she neuer out of my mynd, &c.
In this sonnet the fragment ends.

p. 78, l. 38, *go*, and *now goe we*. "This is a curious illustration of Wm Forrest's Second Grisild—Henry VIII's first Queen, Katherine of Aragon,—just issued by the Roxburghe Club in the *History of Joseph*, p. 171 :

This word 'Gawe we,' and goynge with them too,
Dyd six tymes more good then 'goo yee' shulde doo ;

speaking of Joseph's gentleness, and his wisdom in dealing with his servants."—H. BRADSHAW.

p. 81, l. 143. *Orders four*. Augustines or Austin Friars ; Carmelites or White Friars ; Dominicans or Black Friars (Friars Preachers or Jacobins : the Black *Monks* were the Benedictines) ; Franciscans, Minorites or Grey Friars,—Fr. *Cordeliers*, from the hempen cord[1] with which they were girded.—Skeat's note to *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*, E. E. T. Soc., p. 33-4.

p. 81, l. 151. *Paul*. Hélyot gives 3 Orders of Paulines, i. 360, 473, 1152 ; and 4thly, the *Ordre des Erémites de Saint-Paul*, iii. 126 ; see my *Ballads from MSS.* i. 245, n. 9.

p. 81, l. 155. *Anthonyn*. Cruched Friars nam'd after St Anthony : said to be founded by the great St Anthony, who was born in Egypt in 251. His monastery of Faïoum at first consisted of a group of separate cells, and is supposd to have been the origin of cenobite life. *Ballads from MSS.* i. 245 *n*.

[1] *Cordeliere : f.* A Grey Friars girdle (made of a peece of a rope full of equally-distant knots).—Cotgrave.

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p. 81, l. 165. *La grange est prés des bateurs.* (Said of a Nunnerie thats neere vnto a Fryerie;) the Barne stands neere the Threshers. 1611. Cotgrave. Compare too *The Land of Cockayne*, &c. &c.

p. 85, l. 279. *The Chancellor of Lichfield.* He was at this time, the Bp of Peterborough tells me, "David Pole, appointed Vicar-General and Official Principal (i. e. what is commonly called 'Chancellor') in 1534, and was acting in 1543,—perhaps later.—Antony Draycot occurs in 1556 as holding the Office. Pole was also Archdeacon of Derby and Salop at the same time, and consecrated Bp of Peterborough in 1557." I find no notice of him in Strype before 1540. He was present (as Chancellor of Lichfield and Archdeacon of Salop) at the Convocation of Clergy in that year, which found Henry VIII's marriage with Anne of Cleve void, because Henry did not like her;[1] then in 1553, under Queen Mary's order "to turn out of their livings and livelihoods all priests that had taken wives, and to divorce them asunder . . D. Pole, L.L.D., vicar-general, and principal official to the Bishop, articled and deprived divers of the clergy for this cause: namely, H. Williams, Dean of the church of Litchfield, who married Eliz. King, widow of Alan King, of London, [and 3 others, a vicar, curate, and chaplain]. Moreover, in the archdeaconry of Statford [*so*], David Pole aforesaid did article & deprive several other beneficed priests for the same grievous crime of marriage, as Nicholas Morrey, rector of the church of Bolleston" [and 10 others] (*Eccl. Mem.* III. i. 168-9). In 1553 also, David Pole, Archdeacon of Derby, was one of the Commission who found Bp Bonner's sentence null, and restord him (*ib.* 36-7). In 1554 he was present at—and evidently approved—the trial of Bp Bonner, and that of Dr Taylor, when he was sentenct to be burnt, and martyrd. On 30 Sept. 1554 the Dean of Canterbury, acting as Archbishop during the vacancy of the see, gave Pole a commission to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in the see of Lichfield, vacant by the death of Bp Sampson (Strype's *Cranmer*, 459). In 1556 "Commissions went out from King Philip and Queen Mary, throughout most of the dioceses, if not all, for a diligent search and discovery of heretics. . . . The new Archbishop [Reginald Pole] soon fell upon his work of constituting officers, and exercising visitations. March 27, he gave commission to David Pole, L.L.D., to be his vicar-general in spirituals. And another of the same date to the same person, to be auditor of the audience of Canterbury. And another yet, of the same date, to the same person, to be official of his court of Canterbury. And another to be dean of the Arches, dated March 17, 1557." The date I suspect mistaken, for he was bishop before March 17, 1557. "And besides all this favour to his namesake, (but not his relation, unless basely,) resolving upon an ordinary visitation of his diocese, he appointed him, being his vicar-general, to execute it"

[1] He had, he told Cromwell, "felt her belly and her breasts, and, as he should judge, she should be no maid; and added, he left her as good a maid as he found her." And so, "to comfort and deliver his Grace of his affliction," as Cromwell put it, Convocation set him free!! *Eccl. Mem.* I. i. 555—60.

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(*Eccl. Mem.* III. i. 477-8). In 1557 he was consecrated Bp of Peterborough—one of "Queen Mary's bishops . . . from whom was to be expected all the opposition that could be, against casting off the pope's usurpation, and restoring of true religion" (*Annals*, I. i. 82);—in 1558 he sent his proxy in the first parliament of Queen Elizabeth; in 1559 he was summond before the Queen, and afterwards deprivd of his bishopric for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. Then in December 1559 he, with 4 others, signd a letter to the Queen in behalf of the Papist religion, entreating her 'ladyship to consider the supremacy of the church of Rome' (*ib.* 217). His name is then found (*ib.* 411) as one of the "Recusants which are abroad, and bound to certain places," "Dr Pool, late bishop of Peterborough, to remain in the city of London, or suburbs, or within three miles compass about the same;" and the last entry (214) is "David Poole, an ancient grave person, and quiet subject, was used with all kindness by his prince, and living in his own house, died in a mature age, and left his estate to his friends."

All this is the 'Pole, David' entry in the index to Strype, turnd into paragraphs from the books. Foxe just enters Pole among the 'Persecuting Bishops etc. committed to the Tower.' viii. 637. All these are notices too late for our *Pilgryms Tale*, but David Pole's papist or persecuting tendencies must have shown themselves before Strype records them, as they calld forth our poetaster's condemnation in 1536-40.

"David Pole, or Poole, of noble race, as it seems, some say[1] bastard brother to cardinal Pole, became fellow of Allsouls coll. in 1520, took the degrees of civ. and can. law, that of doctor being compleated in 1527, at which time being archdeacon of Salop,[2] he was much in esteem for his great sufficiencies in those laws. Afterwards he was made dean of the Arches, archdeacon of Derby [Jan. 8, 1542] and chancellor of the diocese of Lichf. and Coventry. At length, upon the death of Joh. Chambers being nominated to the see of Peterborough, was consecrated thereunto[3] on the 15 Aug. 1557, and on the 28 of January following had the temporalities thereof delivered to him."—Anth. Wood, *Ath. Ox.* ii. 801.

Anthony Wood says of Pole's deprivation and death, "In 1559, about the time of Midsummer, he was deprived of his bishoprick, for denying the queen's supremacy, being then esteemed a grave person and a very quiet subject. Wherupon being committed to custody for a time, was soon after set at liberty, '& principis beneficio (as one[4] tells us) in agro suo mature ætate decessit.' "Dr Heylin in his *History of the Reformation*, an. 1559, saith that Bp Pole, by the clemency of the queen, enjoyed the like freedom, was courteously treated by all persons among whom he lived, and at last died, upon one of his farms, in a

[1] "See Burnett's *Hist. of the Reform.* an. 1555, p. 326."

[2] "According to Willis he was collated to this archdeaconry April 2, 1536, on the resignation of Richard Strete. *Cathedrals*, 424."

[3] "Ibid. in Godwin, int. ep. Peterb. p. 594."

[4] "Lanc. Andrews in *Tortura Torti*, &c. p. 146."

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good old age. He gave way to fate in the latter end of May, or beginning of June[1] in 1568, but where, unless near to S. Paul's cathedral in London, or when buried, I cannot tell. All his books of law and divinity, which were then at London and Peterborough, he gave to the library of Allsouls coll."—ii. 801.

p. 89. *Lying prophecies.* See Dr John Harvey's (Gabriel H.'s brother's) *Discoursive Probleme concerning Prophesies*, 1588, p. 68:—"Now touching the *Finall why;* or the generall and speciall ends therof, were not these extrauagant prophesies, mostwhat inuented and published to some such great holie effect as the tales of *Hobgoblin*, *Robin Goodfellow*, *Hogmagog*, Queene *Grogorton*, king *Arthur*, *Beuis of Southhampton*, *Launcelot du Lake*, *Sir Tristram*, *Thomas of Lancaster*, *Iohn à Gaunt*, *Guy of Warwike*, *Orlando furioso*, *Amadis du Gaul*, *Robin Hood* and little *Iohn*, *Frier Tuck* and maid *Marian*, with a thousand such *Legendaries*, in all languages; *viz.* to busie the minds of the vulgar sort, or to set their heads aworke withal, and to auert their conceits from the consideration of serious, and grauer matters, by feeding their humors, and delighting their fansies with such fabulous and ludicrous toyes. For was it not the graund pollicie of that age, wherein those counterfet prophesiers cheefly florished, to occupie and carry away the commons with od rumors, by flimflams, wily cranks, and sleightie knacks of the maker, euen with all possible indeuors and vnderminings, fearing least they might otherwise ouermuch or ouer deeply intend other actions, and negotiations of greater importance, priuate or publike affaires of higher value, matters of state or religion, politike or ecclesiasticall gouernment, which from time to time they kept secret and couert, as mysticall priuities, and sacred intendiments, to be meerly handled, and disposed by the cleargie, or other professed in learning; thinking therby to maintaine themselues, and vphold al their proceedings in the greater credit, authoritie, and admiration amongst the people. It was a trim worke indeede, and a gay world no doubt, for some idle Cloistermen, mad merry Friers, and lustie Abbey-lubbers, when themselues were well whitled, and their panches pretily stuffed, otherwhiles to fall a prophesieng of the wofull dearths, famines, plagues, wars, and most wretched, lamentable and horrible *Tragœdies* of the dangerous[2] daies imminent: other whiles, when haply they had little else to do, or lesse to suffer, to tell the world a lewd tale, or some notable miracle, as namely of *Saint Francis*, how he turned water into wine, walked drie footed vpon the waters, forbad the swallowes to sing; and how good *S. Francis* made all creatures reasonable and vnreasonable to obey his deuout commandements; or of *S. Margaret*, how she conquered and killed the diuell with the signe of the holy ✠; how she was saluted by an Angell from heauen, in the likenes of a doue, and called by the name

[1] "His will was dated May 17, and proved July 6, 1568. See Willis, *Cathedrals*, 505."

[2] To drive infection from the *dangerous* year.
Shakspere, *Venus & Adonis*, l. 508.

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of Christs owne Spouse, and so foorth in the same miraculous veine. Lo, I beseech you (as an ancient poet said of soothsaiers) how, *Sui quæstus causa fictas suscitant sententias;* and to increase their owne priuate ease, libertie, and wealth, with publique reputation and reuerence; how they trouble al the world besides, and procure the perpetuall seruitude, bondage and confusion of infinite good simple soules . . . . (p. 70). I touch not alone any one onely calling, degree or qualitie: hath not euery vocation, profession and estate yeelded some such counter-prophets and pennyfathers, very gromelgainers, self-louers, libertines, epicures, *Lucianists*, perpetuall incrochers, ingrosers and aspirers, publique forestallers, and regrators of al publique commodities and honors, libellers, factioners, troublers of al waters, sauing their owne, hartie friends to themselues onely, and deadly foes to all the world besides. . . .

> Non sunt enim ij, aut scientia, aut arte diuini:
> Sed superstitiosi vates, impudentesque harioli . . . .

As the good old Ennius long ago vttered his affection towards such bribing copesmates, and incroching Bisogniers . . . . (p. 71) Such small ends as commonly ouerthrow and destroy the best established states, and at length bring most florishing kingdomes, principalities, and commonwealthes to their small endes, euen most wooful, most dolefull, and most horrible ends; such in effect, and in conclusion, or rather in confusion, are the ends of such wretched and wicked prophesies, the very prophesies of the diuell, to vndoo and destroy the world. Which our noble and well affected princes of England well knowing, and accordingly considering, haue purposely ordeined & enacted penal statutes to bridle the vnruly & presumptuous insolencie of such imposturall prophets: (as namely 5. Elizabeth .15.)

(p. 73) I before mentioned the like *Vlissean* policie: and nothing doubt, but some of *Achytophels* mightie oracles sauored of the same humor: as more lately som of Machiauels politique resolutions and practises haue pretily tasted & relised therof. In former times, and in a simpler age, it was no difficult matter, to shift out with good plaine rude cloisterly stuffe: now lateward, sithence those frierlie skarcrowes, and moonkish dumps began to be lesse dreaded or regarded, there haue not wanted iolly fine pragmatical wares, of the maker, whereby no small intendiments, or base enterprises haue beene attempted in most kingdomes and principalities thorow out Christiandome. Forsooth loosers must haue their words: and beggers will needes be somewaies bulbeggers. I cannot stand to make any curious deuision; howbeit some of them would be noted for terrible *Elphes*, and *Goblines:* som other of them can be contented to insinuate themselues like *Robin goodfellow* and *frier Tuckes.* Amongst whom (p. 74) can we better compare the former, than vnto such pedlers, tinkers, and sturdy roges, as were woont to carie about with them their fierce mastiues & terrible bandogs, to serue their knauish and villanous turnes, vpon aduantage

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giuen? As for the rest, notwithstanding the sweete and plausible honie in their mouthes, haue they not also spitefull and pestilent stings in their tailes? The world neuer more complained of *Achitophels*, *Vlyssees*, and *Machiauels*, than of late yeeres: but take away, or contemne, all malitious suborning of calumnies, libels, and prophesies: and shall they not hurt or preuaile much lesse, as well in publike, as in priuate, notwithstanding their other wiliest conueiances and suttellest practises? Were it not ouer great pitie, that any such knack of knauerie, or couenous cheuisance, or hipocritical policy, or *Mercuriall* strategeme, either by false libelling, or false prophesieng, or other falsifieng of matters & maners, should peremptorily ouerthrow or traiterously vndermine, any well gouerned or wel established state? God, they say, sendeth commonly a curst cow short horns: and doth not the diuel, I say, in the winde-vpall, and in fine, oftner play **wilie beguile** him selfe, and crucifie his owne wretched lims, then atchieue his mischieuous and malicious purposes, howsoeuer craftilie conueied, or feately packed, either in one fraudulent sort or other?

p. 86, l. 310. *Popish Masses and Persecutions.*—"SIVQUILA (= Aliquis) . . . . after I departed from *the* carnal Gospellers, I came among the peruerse Papists, among whom was such Superstition, Idolatrie, and Massing, with other abhominations, besids the imprisoning, racking, punishing, killing and burning of *the* true professors of Christ, that I could not choose but openlye tell the truth & their faults. Which in no wise they could abyde to heare. Wherby quickly I was imprisoned, & there so punished that the vnchristen Turkes woulde not so haue vsed me.

"OM (Omen = Nemo). How chaunceth *that*? for they name themselues christians.

"SI. They are christians in name: but Diuels in their deeds." 1580. Thomas Lupton, *Sivquila*, p. 2-3 (A later and poorer *Utopia*, that gave Stubbes the name of *Ailgna* (= Anglia) for England, sign. B. Omens (or Nemo's) country is *Mauqsun* (= Nusquam, nowhere), p. 8)..

p. 96, l. 684. *Oxford and Stamford: the Pilgrim's Oath.* "(From Mark Pattison, Lincoln College, Oxford.) In 1334 there was a large secession from Oxford both of scholars and teachers, to Stamford, where schools had existed from time immemorial.

"The Chancellor of Oxford appealed to the King, and the seceders were brought back by force. To prevent the recurrence of a similar secession, an oath was henceforward exacted from every student on taking his B.A.

"'item, tu jurabis quod non leges, nec audies Stamfordiæ tanquam in universitate, studio, vel collegio, generali.' See A. Wood, *Annals*, Gutch's ed. i. 431.

"For the existence of schools at Stamford see Spenser, *F. Q.* IV. xi. 35,

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'And shall see Stamford, though now homely hid,
Then shine in learning, more then ever did
Cambridge or Oxford, Englands goodly beames.'"

p. 101. Godfray's edition of *The Plowmans Tale.* Mr W. Christie-Miller writes of his father's unique book: "The Godfray is a fine copy (folio), but wants the first leaf. I send a transcript of the few lines of prologue:—

They mowe by lawe / as they fayne
Us curse and dampne to helle brinke
Thus they putten vs to payne
With candels queynte and belles clynke
¶ They make vs thralles at her lust
And fayne we mowe nat els be saued
They haue the corne / and we the dust
Who speketh ther agayn they say he raued
¶ What man / q*uod* our host / canst thou preche
Come nere and tell vs some holy thyng
¶ Syr / quod he / I herde ones teche
A preest in pulpyt a good prechyng

¶ Say / on quod our host / I the beseche
Syr I am redy at your byddyng
I pray you that no man me reproche
Whyle that I am my tale tellyng.

Thus endeth the prologue / and here
foloweth the fyrst parte of this
present worke.

(Colophon) ¶ Printed at Lon-
don by Thomas
Godfray.
Cum priuilegio.

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INDEX.

94/615 *means page* 94, *line* 615.

a for *ei*: persaue, perceive, 94/615 (*see* desayue, disayuer); for *ea*, staming, steaming, 109/201.

'Abandon' defind, 42.

Abbey Libraries, searcht for copies of Chaucer, 6.

Abbeylubbers, 145/1.

Abbeys: Thynne share in their spoil, 129.

Abergavenny, barony of; F. Thynne on the claim to, xc.

abiect, *v. tr.* 88/400, cast back, refuse.

Absolon's knock in *The Millers Tale*, 52-3.

ace = the King, xlv.

adamant, 106/118, loadstone, magnet?

Additional MSS. Brit. Mus.; No. 11,388, contents of, p. xlix, ci; No. 12,514, p. ci.

adquired, xxv, acquird.

advouch, *v. tr.* xxxv, ? examine, or credit.

adyng, 83/226, addition.

Æsculapius, 106/112.

Ailgna, 141, Anglia, England.

'Aketon' defind, 31.

Albert, St, set up by the Carmelite friars, 81/133.

Albyon; when it shall come to confusion, xlvi.

Alice, Countess of Salisbury, 26.

Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, 26.

alure, *v. t.* 89/432.

Amadis du Gaul, tale of, 144.

Ambassadors, F. Thynne's Treatise on, lx.

a-mort, 96/673, dead.

and, 96/675, if.

&, 84/252, if.

Animadversions on Speght's 'Chaucer,' by F. Thynne, commented on, cii; printed, 1—74.

Anne of Cleve and Henry VIII, 142.

Anslay, Bryan, xxxi, *n.*

Anstis, the Herald; his life of Francis Thynne, cv, cx; 137.

Anthonines, 142.

Anthonyn, 81/155, Antonine monk.

Antichrist, 86/337, 340.

Antiquaries, the old Society of, xciii; its Members, xcv.

Antiquaries, new Society of: their book of *Household Ordinances*, xxiii.

Antique, cxxx, player of antics.

Digitized by Google

antyk, 79/65, antique.
Anul & Sylos, marriage between, cxv, *n.*
Apivan, David, his prophecy, 117.
Apocalypse, the sorcerous Witch of the, 86/323.
Apollo with his cunning Crowe, 106/111.
apon, 96/688, upon.
Apovell, Thomas, prophesies, 117.
appetyd, 79/78, fancy, liking.
appostolat, 85/299, apostate.
Aprobardwyn, John, prophesies, 119.
Aquinas, Thomas, 80/129.
Archbishops of Canterbury, F. Thynne on, lxxxii.
argent, is the Moon, 111/284.
Aristoteles de pomo, xlix.
Aristotle referrd to about the stork, 68.
armorial, 111/293, of coats of arms, heraldic.
Armorye, booke of, by Claudius Paradyne, xlix.
arms are animal, vegetable, or geometrical, 15.
Arnold of the New Town, the alchemist, 135.
Arthur, King, tale of, 144.
Ashburnham, Lord, xli.
Ashmole MS. 766, p. 134.
ask, 92/518, asp, serpent.
aspirers, 145, men eager to rise by any means.
atonment, 92/529, one.
Austen, 78/35, 81/134, St Augustine.
'Authentic' defind, 42.
Avicenna, 135.
azure, in Heraldry, is Jupiter, 111/288.
Babylon, on the Whore's forehead, 87/343.
Bacon, friar, 135.
Bacon's ideal life, cxv, *note* 1.
Bale on the *Pilgrims Tale*, 8, *n.*; 75-6.
Bale's *Scriptores* and the *Courte of Venus*, 75-6.
Bale's mistakes about Chaucer, 19, and Gower, 19-21; his 1st edition only wrong, the 2nd right, 76.
banes, cxxxix, marriage banns.
Barnardyns, 78/39, Bernardine monks.
barns and stables round the court-yard of an abbey, 78/27.
baron, the 7th degree of nobility, 112/339.
Bartholomeus *de Proprietatibus Rerum* referrd to, 68.
Batemanne, Stephen, parson of Newington: has Chaucer MSS. given him, 12.
'Batman upon Bartholome' quoted, 68, *n.*
battologia, c, tautology.
be-, force of the prefix, 61.
beall, 88/410, Baal.
Beast with 7 heads and 10 horns, 91/492.
Beaudley Park, Salop; Wm. Thynne the Keeper of, xxi; grant of his yearly Buck and Doe out of it, xxxviii.
beautifyeng, xxiv.
Becher, F. Thynne's cousin, lviii.
Becon's bad opinion of *The Courte of Venus* and bawdy ballads, xlvi.
Bede's prophecies, 96/665.
begging, against God's bidding, 78/60.
'Begyn,' beguine, defind, 37.
being, xxiv, l. 35, (being that . . . are,) since.

Digitized by Google

bekers, 81/154, ? beggars.

beleued to be, 82/200, believd he should be.

Bell-vider, 105/86, Belvedere in Italy.

Benedictines, 78/40.

Benet, St Benedict a working brother, not a priest, 78/53.

Bermondsey Street; F. Thynne writes from, in 1573, xlix; Wm. Thynne writes from, 134.

'Bernardus non videt omnia,' lxi.

Berthelet: woodcut frames in Thynne's *Chaucer*, 1532, xxvi.

'Besante' defind, 31.

beseyn, 86/328, apparelld.

bettryng, xxiv, bettering.

Bevis of Southampton, tale of, 144.

bigot defind, 37.

Bishop, a Papist: his knowledge of a woman's shape, 16, *n.*

bishops, bad, 9.

Bishops stop men preaching the truth, 83/237.

bisoguiers, 145, needy scamps?

bittors, cxxvi/3, bitterns.

black swan or white crow, 94/582.

Black's Catalogue of the Ashmole MSS. referrd to, xlv.

Blanche, the Duchess of Lancaster, John of Gaunt's wife: Chaucer's poem on her, 28—30.

boardwages, xxxv, xxxvi.

Boleyn, Anne; Wm. Thynne one of her Coferers, xxvii, or Conveyers, xxviii, at her Coronation Feast.

Bolton, Prior; Hall the Chronicler's mistaking story about, xliv.

Bond, Anne, Wm. Thynne's wife, vi, 129; not buried by him, 130.

bones, rotten; men kneeling to, 84/242.

Booke of Foote of Parcells, xxxiii, ledger.

books; F. Thynne's sweet friends, 106/98; what they gave him, 106/100.

Boorde, Andrew; his opinion of Scotchmen, lxx, *n.*

boots, a Monk's, 82/180.

Bouche-of-Court, xxxviii, allowances for breakfast, light, firing, &c.

bowcer, 79/72, bursar.

Bradshaw, Henry (Camb. Univ. Librarian); his pretty discovery about the Dedication of Thynne's *Chaucer*, xxvi; on Chaucer's supposed *Temple of Glass*, 30, *note* 3; on Wm. Thynne's one-columnd cancelld edition of Chaucer, 75-6; on Sir Brian Tuke's writing Wm. Thynne's Dedication to Henry VIII, xxvi; note on *The Plowmans Tale*, 101.

Bradshaw, Henry, a black monk in Henry VIII's time, lxxxix.

Brae, A. E., on the date of the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, 62, *n.*

Brafferton, Yorkshire, xlviii.

Bransby, Yorkshire, xlviii.

bread: *manchet* the finest, *cheat* the second (xxxvii), *ravelld* the third, and *brown* the fourth (Harrison's *Descr. of England*, N. Sh. Soc.).

Brewer's (J. J. S.) Calendar of Henry VIII Papers, cited, xxi.

Bricks, Anthony, xxix, *n.*

briefments, xxxi, accounts.

Brigham, N., puts up Chaucer's tomb, 130.

Brooke, George, Lord Cobham's son, lxvi, *n.* 1; Henry, Lord Cobham's son, lxv; Sir Wm., Lord Cobham, lxxxvi.

Brotherton, Thomas of, Marshal of Edw. I's court, 72.

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Broughton, Sir Edward, marrid Wm. Thynne's widow, xl.

Buchanan, the Scotch historian, lxx.

Buckley, Master, his Gower and Chaucer story, 21.

bulla or tablet, cxi, cxii.

Bumbelin the Alchemist, cxiv, 135.

Burbage, James; his 'Theatre' in Shoreditch, cxxxv.

Burgh, John, lxxxix.

Burghersh, Bartholomew de, sent for Philippa of Hainault, 17, 25; payment to him, 45; Sir John, and his daughter Maude, Thos. Chaucer's wife, 23.

Burghley, Lord; F. Thynne's Letters to, lii, liv, lxxvii, lxxix, lxxxvi; Poem on his Crest, xlix, Appendix V, 103; his virtues shown by his Crest, 112—114; his praise by F. Thynne, 114/400.

burials to be attended by Heralds, 1/10 (page 50 of *Hindwords*).

bussinge, 79/66, buzzing.

buttocks and breech, cxxviii.

Buynytes, Thomas, prophesies, 117.

byld, 77/8, 97/712, built.

c for *s*: eace, 77/17; vanquyche, buche, 79/91; thece, 80/114; ryce, dispyce, 91/506, 508; dyche (dish), 79/80.

Cambiuscan or Caius Canne, 54.

CAMDEN; his good opinion of Francis Thynne, xviii, 130; quoted, 23.

'Campaneus' for 'Capaneus,' justified, 43.

Campanus, Antonius, his excellent epigram, 27.

Cams, 88/398, Cain's.

Canon's Yeoman, not in Chaucer's *Canterbury-Tales* Prologue, 11.

Cantabrigian, *sb.* 96/675, a Cambridge University man.

Cap and Head, Disputation between, 1564: extract from, cxxix; is not by Francis Thynne, cxxvii.

caps, shapes and ornaments of, in 1564, cxxx.

Captains and Soldiers: the Earl of Leicester's 10 Laws for, lxvii.

caractes, lix/3, letters, writing

Carmelites, 81/133.

Cartwright, Hugh, marrid Lady Anne Broughton (Anne Thynne), xl.

Case is altered, The, by F. T., 1604: extract from, cxxxvii; is not by Francis Thynne, cxxvii.

cate, cake: *Prov.* 'turning the cate in the pan,' 97/692.

Caxton's edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* has many mistakes, 50; his editions of Chaucer's Poems and Tales, 70, *n.*, 71.

Cecil, or Salisbury crest, lv, *n.*; Sir William; *see* Burghley, Lord.

Cecilius, a British king, ancestor of Cecil, Lord Burghley, 114/397.

cenkanter, 97/708.

Cephas or Apollo, 83/209.

'cerial' or 'uncerial' oak for Emilye's garland, 47—50.

cersurt, 82/174?

Certain, Simon, cxxxi.

ch for *s*: *seruychable*, 79/82.

ch for *sh*: baniche, 95/630; thuche (tush), 93/579.

Chamber, Rev. John, xxi.

Chancellors of England, F. Thynne's Lives of, lxxix, lxxx.

Chancellors, Names and Arms of, by F. Thynne, xcviii.

Chanons, 81/137.?

chaplet of Roses worn by knights, 20.

chaplets for trumpeters, &c., 49.

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Chaps, cxl, miser?

Charles the Great, 59.

chast, 86/330, chased, ornamented, set.

Chaucer, meaning of the name, 13-14.

Chaucer, Elias, in 1272-3, 13.

Chaucer, Elizabeth, a waiting woman of Q. Philippa, and then a nun, 22.

Chaucer, Geoffrey: William Thynne's search in Abbeys for his MSS., and finding one signd 'examinatur Chaucer,' xii, 6; story of his beating the friar, xv; 'that noble & famous clerke,' xxiv; his improvement of the English language, xxiv; his Works nearly condemnd by Parliament, 10, xi; early editions of his complete works, 5, *n.*, 70; and of his separate works, 70; personages of his Canterbury Prologue, 11; his father and grandfather, 12; his arms, 15; his ancestors, 14, 17; Gower's mention of him, 18; didn't beat a friar, 21, and was not of the Temple, 22; his wife was not Elizabeth Chaucer, 22, but Philippa, 22, *n.*; his *Dream* or *Dethe of Blaunche*, 28—30; his *Knights Tale* is from Boccaccio's *Teseide*, 43; much of his Wife of Bath's Prologue is from John of Salisbury's *Policraticon*, 55; date of his *Nun's Priest's Tale*, 59—62; spurious works to be distinguisht from genuine, 69; ought to be reedited, 75; his Friar imitated, 79/75-84, 79/88-100; F. Thynne's ryme not fit for C.'s sight, 114/411.

Chaucer: his oath, as Controller of Customs, 131.

Chaucer, Sir Geffray, 135.

Chaucer, spurious alchemical Treatises ascrib'd to, xliv.

Chaucer's Monk imitated, 82/180.

Chaucer's own hand-work, 98/740.

Chaucer's Parson quoted, 84/263.

Chaucer, John, in 1301, 13; the poet's father, 13, *n.*

Chaucer, Ralph, 1199—1216, p. 14.

Chaucer, Richard, the poet's grandfather, 12.

Chaucer, Spenser, and Stowe, buried in Westminster Abbey, 130.

Chaucer, Thomas, 23; his daughter Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, 26; his *Complaint* (by Lydgate) on leaving his wife, 122.

'chauses,' or 'chawcers,' boots up to the calf of the leg, 14.

cheat bread, xxxvii, the second finest bread, *manchet* being the first. (*See* bread.)

chere, 79/74, cheer, pleasantness.

chestnut, the sweet, c/13.

Child, Thomas, xxvii, xxviii.

Christchurch, near Aldgate: Wm. Thynne's lease of its Erith tithes, xxii.

Christie-Miller, W.; on the Britwell uniques of *The Plowmans Tale* and *The Courte of Venus*, 76, *n.*

Christmas, the still, in Henry VIII's court at Eltham, 1525, xxiii.

Christmasly, *adj.* lxi.

Christ's inburst into Hell, 83/220.

Church, the true, 92/512.

Chytreus, David, on the invention of printing, 27.

Cicero, prince of eloquence amonges the Latyns, xxiv.

cinq = the monks and friars, xlv.

Cinque Ports, the Lord Wardens of the, lxxxvi.

'Citrination' in Alchemy defind, 38.

Digitized by Google

clemence, xxv, clemency.

Cleobury Barnes, Salop: Thynne's £10 annuity out of, xxi.

Clerk-Controllers of Henry VIII's household: their duties, xxxi—xxxvi; their allowances, xxxvi, and food, xxxvii.

Clerk of the Kitchen to Hen. VIII: his duties, xxiii.

Clerkenwell Green: Francis Thynne at, in 1593, p. xcvii; 1599, p. 3 (see xciii, &c., and *Notes*).

cloistermen, 144-5, monks.

Clopinell, John, or Jean de Meun, 27.

closters, 87/365, cloisters.

Cobham, Lord, entertains Q. Elizabeth at Cobham Hall, xlvii; Francis Thynne dedicates his *Perfect Ambassadoure* to, lix; describes him, lxxxvi.

Cobham, Lord, 136, 137.

Cobham, the Lords: F. Thynne's Lives of the, lxxxv; his full *Lives* of, c.

Cobler, Captain, or 'cobler the dawe,' in *The Pilgrims Tale*, 9, *n.*

Cobler the dawe, 89/448, Capt. Cobler.

Collier, Mr J. Payne, cxxvii, cxlii.

compared, xxv, obtaind (Latin).

comprobacion, xxiv, l. 17, proof, evidence.

compting-house, xxxi, counting-house.

Compton, Sir W., xxi.

comptrolled, xxxiii, examind and verified.

comptrolling, comptrollment, xxxi, *n.* 2.

Comptrollment, the Booke of, xxxv.

Congresberye, Bishops of, cxxvi, art. 47.

Constantyne, king of Britain, and Emperor of Rome, xxv.

contrarieties, xxiv, l. 2 from foot.

conveyers, xxviii, carriers of dishes, &c.

Cooper's Thesaurus or Dictionary quoted, 47.

coragd, 115/422, encourag'd.

corn in Lord Burghley's crest, 112/312.

corroborate, xxvi, strengthend.

corsey, lx, hurt, disease.

cote armor, 80/104.

Country and Town contrasted, cxliii.

course, xcix, coarse.

court, lxxxvii, a truck or cart.

Courte of Venus, 8, *n.*, 76, App. III. 101; Becon's bad opinion of, xlvi; mistaken for a supposd cancelld edition of Chaucer by Wm. Thynne, 75-6; contents of its 1st sheet, 138. See 127.

'Coventry' a bad reading in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, D. 1301, p. 56.

Craig, Sir T., criticised Holinshed's *Scotland*, 136.

cranks, 144, turns, tricks.

Crofte, Sir Edward, xxii.

Crown Inn at Rochester, xlvii.

Cunegunde, 66.

Curtain Theatre in Shoreditch, cxxxv.

customeable, 131, liable to pay Customs' duty.

Customer, a Collector of Customs, xxii, *n.* 1.

Cynthia, the moon, 110/260.

Cytye of Ladyes, xxxi, *n.* 1.

d for *t*: *byld*, built, 77/8; excepd, 79/62; *appetyd*, appetite, 79/78; gurd, 80/122.

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Damask powder sprinkl'd on caps, cxxx.

dangerous days imminent, 145.

Daniel, 115.

Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, 108/165.

darkish, *adj.* 48/2, somewhat dark.

Dathan and Abiram, 93/573.

David, referrd to, lvi.

dawcock, cxxxviii, a glutton.

Debate between Pride and Lowliness, extract from, cxxviii; is not by Francis Thynne, cxxvii.

defaulkation, xxxiv, forfeiture, knocking-off, deducting.

default, *v. tr.* xxxiii, last line, xxxiv, to cause to forfeit, deduct.

defaulted, xxviii, forfeited.

defaulting, xxxiii, forfeiting.

Defensor of the Christen Faithe, xxv.

De la Poole family, 24—26.

De la Poole, Michael, 25, 26; Richard, 24, 25.

Delamoore, Sir Thomas; his History, cxxvi, art. 11.

demite, 83/230, *dimitte.*

Demosthenes referrd to, xxiv.

deprehended, xxiv, l. 43, discoverd.

depte, 111/272, depth.

desayue, 94/592, deceive.

deuce = the double-tongued, xlv.

'the Deuil kisse his arse,' cxxxiv.

Dialogue or Disputation betweene the Cap and the Heade, 1564; extract from, cxxix; is not Francis Thynne's, cxxvii.

Diana is silver, 109/217.

Diana, Luna, Hecate, Trivia: all one, 48.

differens, 80/101, 106, distinctive dress of the differing orders of monks and friars.

disayuer, 90/460, deceiver.

Discourse of Arms by F. Thynne, xcvii.

Disperance, 138.

Docquet, the Main, xxxiii, account of household-expenses.

dome, 80/111, doom, judgment, opinion.

Dominicans upheld Aquinas, 89/129.

dompes, 105/90, dumps.

dotag, 77/12, dotage, fancy.

Douglas, Gawaine: F. Thynne on, cvii.

douine or dovine, 95/619, diviner.

Douns, 81/132, Duns Scotus.

Dover Harbour, the works at, in 1583, lxxxvii.

dowcetts, xxxvii, sweets (see *Babees Book*), pies and puddings. Fr. *doucet*, prettie and sweet.—Cotgrave.

Doyle, Mr, xlviii.

Dragon, lion, wolf, and mole; prophecy as to, 120.

dran be, 79/68, drone bee.

Drida, queen of Mercia, 59.

Dubartas, F. Thynne on, cvii.

Duce, Robert, prophesies, 118.

Duns Scotus, the Franciscan, 80/130, 81/132.

duskish, 48/9, 49/8, somewhat dusky.

dyche, 79/80, dish.

Ediswitha, her convent, 33.

Edward III, money lent to, by Wm. de la Poole, 24; didn't marry Philippa of Hainault till 1329, at York, 15—17.

Edward IV's Household Ordinances, extract from. 14, *n.*

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Edward VI, prophecy as to, 118.

Egerton, Lord Chancellor: Dedication to, of F. Thynne's *Names and Arms of the Chancellors*, xcviii; and of the *Emblemes*, lvi; and *Animadversions*, l. *See* Ellesmere.

'either' and 'every' in *Knights Tale*, A. 2570, p. 50.

eiect, 90/464, cast out.

elf, the Queen (Titania), 79/93.

Elios, 105/63, the sun.

Elizabeth de la Ryves marries Francis Thynne, xlviii.

Elizabeth, Queen, at Rochester and Cobham Hall, xlvii; Progress thro' Kent, xlviii.

Ellesmere, Sir Thomas, Lord Chancellor: enterd at Lincoln's Inn in Nov. 1559-60, xlviii. *See* Egerton.

Ellis, F. S., xliii.

Elphes, 146, elfs.

Eltham, Statutes of, for Hen. VIII's Household, xxii, xxiii, xxxi, &c.

Ely, the lieger book of, quoted, 33.

embesselinge, xxiii, embezzling.

Embleames and Epigrams, extracts from F. Thynne's, lvi.

Emelye of *The Knights Tale*: her garland, 47—50.

Emma, mother of Edward the Confessor, 66, 67.

empeched, xxiv/36, hinderd.

engrossment of bookes, xxxi, *n.* 2.

Envy among monks, 80/128, &c.

enyoye, 113/378, enjoy.

Epythyme, an, cxxix.

'eques cataphractus, a chevalier arm'd cap-a-pè,' xxii, *n.* 2.

Erasmus's mention of one Thynne, xxi; of another, *Thynnus aulicus*, the adulterer, 128.

Erith, Kent: Wm. Thynne livd at, 10, ix.

Erith tithes, Wm. Thynne's lease of, xxii, lviii; his two letters on, 131-2.

Eros, for Hereos or Heroes, in Chaucer's *Knights Tale*, 44.

Esperance, 138.

Eton, the self-conceited Provost of, xcix.

excepd, 79/62, except.

exemplaries, xxv/2, samples, volumes.

ex[p]ounde, 110/253, explanation.

ey for *e*: *sheyd*, shed, *v. t.* 89/446; for ee, ea, *seyd*, *heyd*, seed, head, 91/489-90.

ey for *ea*: *leyd*, lead, 84/253; *forbeyd*, forbade, 84/268.

ey for *ea*, *e*: meyt, geyt, 95/652.

Eynes, Mr, of Eslington near York, puts Francis Thynne in prison, xlviii.

Fabatus's opinion of going to sea, xlv, *n.* 1.

factioners, 145, makers of faction.

Falborne Park, xxix, ? Falkborn, Essex.

False Semblance, king of Harlots, not Heralds, 73.

Fane, Lady, claims the barony of Abergavenny, xc.

farmeris, 87/365.

fation, 79/79, fashion, make.

'Fermentacion' in Alchemy defind, 32.

feytuosly, 82/180, neatly.

Fisher, Thomas, a warden of the Poulterers' Company, xxx.

Fisher, Thomas, Wm. Thynne's servant, xl.

Fitzwarren, Fulk, lxiii; the Gestes of, lxiii.

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Fleece of Gold, Order of the, 115.
flekyd, 80/121, fleckt, spotted.
flimflams, wily cranks, and sleightie knacks, 144.
Florin, its value and sorts, 45-7.
floure de lyce, xlv, fleur de lys, lily.
Flower and Leaf, first printed by Speght, quoted, 49.
Folkestone, xxx.
Fons Paradisi, xlix.
Foote of Parcells, xxxiii, totals of separate bills.
'Forage' defind, 38.
forespeche, xcix/23, forewords, preface.
forswatte, 101/14, much sweated.
forswonke, 101/14, overworkt.
1461 A.D., few lords in, xlvi.
fowther, 77/24, fother, load of lead.
foxry, 85/278, foxiness, craft.
Francis, St, no priest, but a worker, 78/57.
Franciscans set up Duns Scotus, 81/132.
fraurd, 87/377, froward.
freshness, xxiv/20.
fresht, 106/92, refresht.
friars and nuns, 142.
Friars, dress and jealousy of, 81/140.
Friars, four Orders of, 141.
frised cloth of gold, 33.
fryaundes, xxxvii, ? fritters, or Fr. '*friandises*, dainties, Jonkets, sweetmeats, curious acates.'—Cotgrave.
fryng, 82/175, fringe.
fuet, 98/727, grease?
fulmerd, 98/729, foumart, foul marten.
fundation, 82/190, foundation, monastery.
furniture, xxx, furnishing, supplying.
Furnivall, F. J., his share in this edition, cxvi.
Furnivall, Lord, lxi, lxii, ci.
fyguryng, 94/612.
fyndis, 85/302, fiends.

Gage, Sir John, Controller of Henry VIII's household, xxx.
Galfridus, Sacrista de Coldingham, lxii.
'gallant,' amusing derivation of, cxxxi, *.
garded, 35, borderd.
garland and chaplet, not the same, 20.
garland, Emelye's oak-leaf one, 47—50. (*Knight's Tale.*)
Garland, John, the alchemist, 135.
Garter, motto of the, 114/406.
gat, 77/13, road, path.
Gately Park, Wigmoresland, xxii.
Gaunt (or Ghent), John of: his children by Katherine Swynford legitimizd, 99. *See* John of Gaunt.
Gervasius tilburiensis, lxiii.
gift: what to be lookt at in one, 114/413.
Gilbert, St, of Sempringham, 82/192.
Gilbertine monks, 81/157.
girl runs away from an old courter, cxl.
'go,' and 'go we,' the difference between, 141.
'go,' no good; 'go we' the right thing, 78/38.
goblins, 146.
gold in Alchemy (?) is the Sun, 109/220.

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gomory, 88/408, Gomorrha.

Gower the poet, his works not condemnd by Parliament, xiv, *n.*; not of the Gowers of Stittenham, xv, 19; was misunderstood by Speght, 18—22; his tomb, 20, *n.*; 'the moral', 135.

gree, in, 104/53, in good part, graciously.

Greencloth, Clerks of the, xxxi.

Greencloth-Clerks, Hen. VIII's: their duties, xxxiii.

Greene, Robert, on ribands to presentation-copies of books, xvii; his *Quip for an upstart Courtier*, cxxvii.

Gregoras, 108/168.

Grey, Lord, of Wilton, lxxviii; of Ruthine, lxxviii.

Grogorton, tale of Queen, 144.

gromelgainer, 145.

gu in French, &c. = English *w*, 65-6.

Guarine and his Sons, old English Book in ryme of their Gestes, lxiii.

gurd, 82/173, girt, girded.

Gurley, William, Henry VIII's poultry-buyer, xxx.

Guy of Warwick, tale of, 144.

Halle's Chronicle: on the plague of 1525, xxii; on Wolsey and the Statutes of Eltham, xxiii; mistaken story about Prior Bolton, xliv.

Halle, Thomas, xxvii, xxviii.

halowe, 77/14, saint, or shrine.

Haly de judiciis astrorum, 135.

Hampton-Court the More, xxviii.

Hardy, Sir T. Duffus, edition of prose *Guarine*, lxiii, *n.*

Hardyng's account of the choosing of Philippa as Edw. III's wife, 16.

Hardyng's *Chronicle* on Blanche of Lancaster, 29, *n.* 4.

'Haroldes' wrongly us'd for 'Harlotes' in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, 71-3.

Harrison, Wm., praise of John Stowe, 136.

harse, c/11, harsh.

Harvey, John; extract from his *Discoursive Probleme*, 1588, p. 144-6.

Harvye, Wm., Clarencieux, ci.

Hatclife, Thomas, xxvii, xxviii, xxix.

Hato the Armenian, quoted, 53.

Hatterlyf, Thomas, clerk of the Greencloth, xxviii.

'haughte' and 'straughte' in *Knight's Tale*, A. 2916, p. 51.

Hazlitt, W. C., xlii, xliii.

Hearne; his publication of some of Francis Thynne's treatises, xviii.

Hearne's *Curious Discourses*, xciv.

Hearne's Diary; extracts from, as to Fr. Thynne, xlvii; lii, *n.* 3; lix, *n.*; lxxi, lxxii, lxxvii, cx, *notes*.

heave at, 10/7, carp at, bear ill will to, attack.

Hecate or Diana, 48.

hellishness, cxxxix.

Henry III forbad trial by ordeal, 67.

Henry VIII and Anne of Cleve, 142.

Henry VIII: Statutes for his Household made by Wolsey, xxiii; those for his Clerk-Controllers printed, xxxi—xxxvi; his friendliness to Wm. Thynne, 9-10.

Heralds' College has lost a MS. of F. Thynne's, xcvii.

Heralds' College, the constitution of, 128.

heremo, 78/35, the desert.

Hermes, 113/343.

Digitized by Google

Hermits take part with St Augustine, 81/134.
'Heroner', a long-wingd hawk, 39.
hething, 88/388, scorn, contempt.
Hewyt, Thomas, of Hythe in Kent, supplies sea-fish to Henry VIII, xxx.
heyll, 92/521, health.
Higden's *Polichronicon* referrd to, 67.
Hinde, Thomas, xxvii, xxviii.
'Hip' is the bery of the Eglantine, 40.
Hiperbatone, the rethoricall figure, 56.
Hoare's Wiltshire: Thynne pedigree in, 129.
Hobgoblin, tale of, 144.
hodyt, 80/126, hooded, wearing hoods.
Hogmagog, tale of, 144.
Holinshed's Chronicle: account of the Castrations of, lxvi; extracts from, lxix—xc.
Hollyband's definition of 'abandon' condemnd, 42.
holm oak, 47.
Homerus, referrd to, xxiv.
Homo, animal sociale, F. Thynne's essay on, lviii.
horn, cxliii/20, cuckoldry.
hostry, cxxxii, hostelry.
houll, 84/249, whole.
Household Ordinances quoted, xxiii, xxix—xxxviii.
howr, 86/342, whore.
howrdom, 95/644, whoredom.
Hugh of Lincoln (*Prioress's Tale*), 57.
Hull, the De la Pooles of, 25.
hyne, 102/26, hind.
hyrdis, 81/165, hurds, flax.
Hythe in Kent, xxx.
idolaters are fornicators, 86/335.
Ilex or holm oak, 47.
illude, 86/319, deceive.
imposturall, 145.
incomberment, 80/120, encumbrance.
Incubus, 79/92, 95.
Infra et Extra, xxxv/8, deficiency and surplus.
-ing: 'for the perfecting of the same', xxxiii.
-ing: 'when Windsore Castle was in buildinge', 66.
Ingulphus quoted, 59.
inned, *p. part.* 132.
innholders drunkards, cxxxii.
inputed, 98/455, orderd.
insensate, 87/357.
intellect, Arcite's, gone or not, 50.
intellection, 93/565, understanding.
Isabella, Queen, 15, mother of Edward III.

Jackson, Canon, his notes from the Marquis of Bath's Thynne Papers at Longleat, xlviii.
Jackson, Canon: statements from Longleat papers, xxii, lviii, cx.
James I: F. Thynne's Dedication to, cx.
Jane of Navarre, marrid to Henry IV, 24.
Jannes and Mambres, 93/559, 562.
John a Gaunt, tale of, 144.
John of Gaunt, his age, 28-9.
John of Gaunt in his chaplet of Roses, 20; his children by Katherine Swynford born before marriage, and legitimated, 23; the Patent for the same, 99.
John, King of France: his ransom, 46.

Digitized by Google

John, St, the falcon, 95/638.
John of Salisbury's *Policraticon*, the original of much of the Wife of Bath's Prologue, 55.
ioly, 82/178, nice, pretty.
Joseph's art to interpret dreams, 108/163.
Jupiter, in Alchemy?, is tin, 109/222.
Jupiter, in Heraldry, stands for blue, 111/288; in Lord Burghley's crest, 111/304.
Jupiter, 7th in the celestial sphere, 107/132.
Jupiter and Luna, the lions of, lv.

kar, 86/331, carri'd, bare.
Kenelm, Saint and King, 59.
Kent rejoist, 117.
Kent, the worthy shire of, cxxxvii.
King of the Ribalds or Harlots, 71-2.
King's Bench Prison, Southwark, liv.
King's College, Cambridge: copy of Thynne's 1532 *Chaucer* at, with Sir Brian Tuke's inscription, xxvi.
Kingsley, Dr G., cxvi.
Kitchen, Henry VIII's Clerks of the, xxiii; William Thynne one, xxi, xxiv.
Knaresborough Castle, built by Serlo de Burgo, 23.
'knees of my harte,' liii.
Knights of the Bath: F. Thynne's treatise of, cix.
Knight's Tale, Speght's corrections in, mainly wrong, 43—52.
'knocked' in *The Miller's Tale*, A. 3696, p. 52.
knot a rush, to seek, cxiii, 5.
knotted flowers, xlvii.

Lambard, Wm. of Halling, Kent: F. Thynne's pedigree of him, xcvi; and compilations at his house, cxxvi, 47, art. 13.
lamprells, xxxvii. Fr. '*Lamprillon*, a Lamprill, or small Lamprey'.—Cotgrave.
Lancaster, John, Duke of, 99. *See* John of Gaunt.
Lancaster, Thomas, tale of, 144.
Lancelot du Lake, tale of, 144.
larder, xxiii.
law-papers cost much, are worth nothing, cxxxiv.
laysers, xxiv, leisures.
lead is the lowest metal, 109/224.
leadress or moveress, 74.
Ledger, xxxiii, book for posting totals of accounts in.
Ledger, the standing, xxxv.
'lefe' right in *Cant. Tales*, A. 3510, p. 52.
legendaries, 144, legendary story.
Leicester, Earls of, F. Thynne on, lxxxi.
Leland referrd to, about Sir Bryan Tuke, xxvi.
Lesley the historian of Scotland, lxx.
Lesones: Wm. Thynne's tithes of, 132.
leyder, 86/342, leader.
Lichfield, the Chancellor of, D. Pole, 85/279.
Lichfield, Bp. of, temp. Edw. III: his knowledge of women's breeding points, 16.
Limenarcha, the Governor of the Saxon Shore, lxxxvi.
Lincoln: a child Hugh slain by the Jews at, 57.
'Lincoln's Inn societie', xlviii.
Lion, the image of Christ, 96/653.

Digitized by Google

lions of Lord Burghley's crest, 112/308; 113/361-6.
Little John, Friar Tuck, and Maid Marian, 144.
lobers, 87/346, lubbers.
Lock, Robert; his prophesy, 116.
London, plague in, in 1525, xxii; 26.
London boasts of nurture, cxxxv.
Longheith, Owen, prophesies, 119.
Longleat, an 'out-nook' of the little world, lx.
lops (and tops and barke) of oak, xxvii, branches lopt off.
Loris, Guillaume de, wrote the first part of the *Roman de la Rose*, 27.
loute, 102/23, bow, worship.
Lully, Raymond, 135.
Luna 1st, the lowest, 107/127, 139; 109/202; in Lord Burghley's crest, 111/304.
Luna, in Heraldry, stands for white, 111/283.
Luparius, Vincentius, quoted, 72.
Lupton, T., extract from his *Sivquila*, 141.
Lydd, xxx.
lymytour, 79/94, friar with his own limited district to beg in.
Lytchfield, Wm., a Warden of the Poulterers' Company, xxx.
lyuelod, 102/34, living, support.

m, insertion of, in Italian: *camp-* for L. *cap-*, 43.
Machiavel's politique resolutions, 145, 146.
Mackarell, Doctor, leader of the Lincolnshire rebels in 1536, 9, *n.*
Maia's son, 113/347.
Man, a social being, lviii.
manchet, xxxvii, the finest wheat bread.
manologia, c, ? looseness.
manor, xxix, dwelling-place, mansion, palace.
March, Earldom of: Wm. Thynne Receiver-General of, xxii.
Margaret, St, fables about, 145.
margarites, 86/330, pearls.
mark, signing with a, xxviii.
Mark, John, Luke, and Matthew, 95/633.
marriage, happy only when the husband is deaf and the wife blind, lvii.
marriage festivities, cxxxix.
Mars the 5th in the celestial sphere, 107/131.
Marshal of the King's Court: his duties, 72-3.
Marshalsea prison in Southwark, liv, *n.*
Mary, Queen, and King Philip, visit Rochester, xlvii.
Maskell, Rev. Joseph; his History of All Hallows, Barking, 130; his letter on William Thynne's tomb, 132.
mastiffs and bandogs, 146.
Matthew Paris quoted, 57, 59.
Matthew, Wm., a Warden of the Poulterers' Company, xxx.
Mauqsun, 141, Nusquam, the country of Nowhere.
meacock, cxxxviii, a spoony.
meliorate, *v. tr.* xxiv, better.
mell, 94/595, mix.
Mendicants, Four Orders of, 81/143; spring from Cain, 81/146.
Mercenrike, the kingdom of Mercia, 62.
Merchants of the Staple, hadn't arms till Henry VI, 18.
Merchant's Tale, Speght's reading of, E. 2237, questiond, 54.
mercury, 110/235

Digitized by Google

Mercurye the wise, second, 107/128.
merit, not in man, but in Christ alone, 83/215.
Merleon le Paule prophesies, 119.
Merlin a diviner, 95/620.
Merlin's Prophecies, 93/577; 94/598; 96/665.
Merlyne and Mariam, disputation between, cxv, *note*.
met, 79/75, meet, fit.
Meun, Jean de, finisht the *Roman de la Rose*, 27.
mezil, cxl.?
micher, cxli.
Ministers strive to be Masters, 89/417.
'Minoresse' in *Rom. Rose* ought to be 'Mooveresse', 74.
Minors, 81/131, Minorite or Franciscan friars.
Mint, in Southwark, liv.
mokis, mous, 86/320, mocks, grimaces.
Moldwarp, or mole, prophecy as to, 120.
Molinet's Moralization of the *Roman de la Rose*, 28, 65, 71, 74.
Money makes mischief, cxxxviii.
Monks of old, good workers, not mere mass-sayers, 78/43-49.
monks, lazy, who rob the poor, 87/346.
Moon: *see* Luna.
moon, 82/167, moan, distress.
moot, cxi, motto.
More, Sir T.: Roper's Life of him copi'd by F. Thynne, l.
moveress, 74.
Musselburgh, battle of, xxii, *n.* 2.
mynia, 113/357.

Napery, xxx, table-linen.
Neale, xxix, pig?
ner, 10/98; 83/218, 223, nor.
Neville, Edward: F. Thynne on his claim, xc.
Newes from the North, 1579, extract from, cxxxi; is not by F. Thynne, cxxvii, cxxxi.
New-Year's gifts, custom of, 1.
Nicolson, Bp: his *English Historical Library*, quoted, as to the castrations of Holinshed's *Chronicle*, 136; lxv.
niffles and fablis, 89/435, trifles and fables.
ninny-hammer, cxxxviii, stupid lout.
nobilitate, *v. tr.* xxv.
Noble, Mark: his account of Francis Thynne, xvii.
noddy, cxxxviii, fool.
noghtihod, 85/303, naughtiness, wickedness.
North and South, manners of, cxxxv.
Norton, Thomas, of Bristol, the Alchemist, cxiv, *n.* 2; 135.
Norway, the Black Fleet of, 97/720.
'Nowell' defind, 40.
Nowell, Lawrence, cxxvi, art. 11, 13.
nugæ, jokes, nonsenses, mistakes, 73.
Nun's Priest's Tale, date of, 59-62.

oak-leaf garland, Emelye's, 47.
obbey, 77/21, abbey.
Œacides, 107/159.
Oedipus, 107/154.
of, 101/7, off.
official, 85/274, ecclesiastical officer.
old man: one describd, cxl.

Digitized by Google

old woman's enchantment of a young husband's powers, cxxxix.
Omega, ale-house sign of the Greek, cxxxii.
Omen, 141, Nemo, or nobody.
omnigatherum, lxxxix.
one, 19, l. 3 from foot, &c., an.
opprobryusnes, 87/368, reproach.
or is the Sun, 111/286.
ordeal, trial by, discusst, 66-8.
'Orfrayes' defind, 33.
Orlando Furioso, tale of, 144.
Ostinhanger, T. Smith of, xxii.
'oundye', wavy, defind, 35.
overseers, xl, inspectors, overlookers.
oversight, xxiii, xxxi, *n.* 2, looking-after, superintendence.
Oxford and Stamford, rival schools at, 146.
Oxford once flourishing, 96/685; bound under the Whore, 97/698.
Oxonian, 96/696, an Oxford-University man.

Paddy, Nicholas, Lancaster Herald, cvii.
Pageman, Robert, xxix, *n.*
painters' pottering, xcix, at foot.
Palinurus wise, 106/115.
Papist persecutions of the true believers, 86/310.
Papists rooted in malice, 91/509.
papry, 85/277, Popery.
Paradyne, Claudius: F. Thynne's epistle dedicatorye to his 'Booke of Armorye', xlix (see Notes, 134).
parishes in England, their origin to be discusst, xciii.
Parker, Archbp. Matthew, lxxxiv.
Parker, Matthew: 'Life of Archbishop Bourchier' referrd to, 27; 'Life of Boniface' quoted, 34.
Parliament in 34 Hen. VIII count Chaucer's Works but fables, xiv, 10.
participate of, cxii.
Patent Rolls quoted, 35.
Paul, St, his Epistle to the Corinthians, 83/205; on the mischief of Sects, 93/554.
Pauline hermits, 81/151.
Paulines, 142.
'Pearce, the Black Monk, upon the Elixir', xlv.
Peckham, Sir G., xxix, xxx, xl.
pedigrees, F. Thynne's collection of, 1602-5, cviii.
pedlers and tinkers, 146.
peice, xxix, *n.*, apiece.
pellure, furs, 63.
Perfect Ambassadoure, Francis Thynne's, lix.
perrygryne, 82/188, strangers, from far.
Peter, Thomas, cxv, *n.*
Phaeton, the sun, 110/261.
Pharo thrall, 88/395, Pharaoh's thraldom.
Phebe, the planet, 110/259.
Phebus, 105/70, the sun.
phenice, de: the treatise quoted, 36.
philautia, xcix/10, self-love.
Philip, Duke of Burgundy, 115.
Philippa of Hainault, when married to Edw. III, 15; chosen as his wife on account of her large hips, 16, *n.*
Philosophers Arms: F. Thynne's Discourse on, 134.
Phœnix, the Philosophers' stone, l.
picke-me-dainties, cxxx, wantons.
Pierce Plowman and Simon Certain, The Conference between, 1579, not by Francis Thynne, cxxvii, cxxxi.

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Pierius Valerius quoted, 48.

pilgrimage to Canterbury, 101/12.

Pilgrims Tale, xli, xlii, 7, 8, *n.*; 9, 10-11, 75; print of the only known bit of it, 77—98; provincialisms in, 98, *n.*

pillars borne before Cardinals, 63.

Plague in London in the winter of 1525, xxii.

Plague in England in 1583, lxxxvii.

Plato on the four degrees of nobility, lxxxv.

Plato says Jove is tin, 109/221.

platte, 101/12, forthwith, straight.

Playfoote, Thomas, Yeoman Pigtaker, xxix, *n.*

plays and disguisings at Wolsey's house at Richmond, at Christmas, 1525, xxiii.

Plowmans Tale, xliii, 10, *n.*; print of its Prologue, 101-2.

Plowmans Tale: bit of Prologue from Godfray's edition, 147.

Plowmans Tale, the spurious: three of Speght's readings in, objected to, 63-5; put by William Thynne after the *Parson's Tale*, 69, by Speght before it, 68; its Prologue, 101-2.

point devise, 104/37.

pointed, 108/192, appointed.

poisoning, burning the punishment for, lxxxii.

Pole, Cardinal: his corpse lying in state at Rochester Cathedral, xlvii.

Pole, David, Chancellor of Lichfield, 1534, then Bp. of Peterborough, p. 142.

polecat, 98/729.

Policraticon, us'd for the Wife of Bath's Prologue, 55.

Poole family, the foundation and rise of, 24—26.

the Pope in 1246 lik'd English orfrayes, 34.

Popish Masses and Persecutions, 141.

'Porphyry' defind, 40.

Poultry, Wardens of the, xxix, xxx.

poultry-stuff, xxx, poultry.

presentyng, *sb.* 94/610.

prestant, xxv, fore-standing, eminent.

Priapus, God, 105/83.

prickett, xxxviii, a wax taper (Halliwell). See *Babees Book.*

priests, two Seminary, hang'd, bowelld, and quarterd, lxxxii.

printing, date of the invention of, 27.

Proctor, John, schoolmaster, lxxxix.

Prophecies, xlv, xlvi, App. V, 116; false, 89/424; absurd, by Welshmen, 116.

prophets, false; statute against, 145.

Proverbs: 'A man cannot pipe without his upper lip', lxxiii. 'Roolinge stone doth neuer gather mosse', 108/188. 'Praise no man while he lives', 114/390. 'God sends a curst cow short horns', 146.

Pulterers, xxx, poulterers.

pye, 80/121, magpie.

Pygott, Elizabeth, xl, William Thynne's daughter.

Pynson, his woodcut frames in Thynne's *Chaucer*, 1532, xxvi.

quadrate number of perfection, cxii.

quart, 92/521, heart, courage.

quater = the lords, xlv.

quayre, lxiii, quire of paper.

queme, 96/672, pleasure.

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Quenda, King Kenelm's sister, 59.
Quendrida, 62.
quernall (oak-leaf) crowne for Roman citizens, 49.
queynt, 102/40, quencht.
quicksilver, 110/235.
quykyng, 94/610, being quick or alive.

rapsodicall, xcix.
raughte, 106/101, reacht, stretcht out my arm.
rebellers to (against), 93/560.
Recognizance, xxx, Bond.
red cloth, coat of, for Hen. VIII's Sink-scourer, xxviii.
Red Rose, xlv.
reducynge, xxv, bringing back, restoring.
rekis them, 80/109, recks, matters, to them.
religion, 82/194, order of monks or friars.
remaines, *sb. pl.* xxxv, what's left, residue.
repungnant, 88/380, fighting, rebellious.
'Resagor' or 'Resalgar', arsenic, defind, 36.
restauration, xxv, restoration.
restorment, 92/525, restoration.
revolution, xcix, turning round.
Ribalds, King of the, 71-2.
Richard of Westminster, lxiii.
Richmond, Wolsey at, at Christmas, 1525, xxiii.
Riddlesdown below Croydon, cxvii.
Ripley, Canon George, the Alchemist, cxiv, *n.* 2, No. 3; 135.
Ripon in Yorkshire, cxxxii.
Robin Goodfellow, tale of, 144, 146.
Robin Hood, tale of, 144.
Rochester, Q. Elizabeth and Q. Mary at, xlvii.
Rochester Cathedral: Cardinal Pole lying in state there, xlvii.
Rolland, T.; his *Courte of Venus*, 138.
Roman de la Rose, the French, 65, 74; Molinet's Moralization of it quoted, 65, 71, 74.
Romaunt of the Rose, reference to, 8; Speght's mistakes in his edition of it, 27-8, 71-4; lines in, to be read, 97/722, 98/740.
Romney, xxx.
Romsey Abbey, F. Thynne's book of notes on, lxiii.
rooffe, c/11, rough.
Roper, William; his *Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore* copid by Francis Thynne, ci.
rose-water sprinkl'd on caps, cxxx.
roule, *sb.* xxxiv, roll (of parchment).
ruell, 83/224, 226, rule, order.
rush: 'to seeke a knott in a Rushe', cxiii, 5.
'Russye' better than 'Surrye' in the *Squire's Tale*, F. 2, p. 53.
Rye, Sussex: Shurley and Wm. Thynne bailiffs of, xxi.

sacrificer, 50/8.
Salisbury, Earl of, and his daughter Alice, 26.
sarsnet, 41.
Satan denounst, 90.
Savile, Mr, the self-conceited Provost of Eton, xcix.
scope, 110/270, meaning.
Scot, Reginald: his account of the Dover workmen, lxxxvii.
Scotchmen refusd to help Francis Thynne with their History, lxx.

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Scourer of Sinks to Henry VIII, xxviii.
Scrivener, Adam, Chaucer on, 11.
sects of Monks and Friars, 80/117; each with its own God, 80/124.
selue, *adj.* 94/614, same.
Semiramis, Queen, her garden, 105/82.
Sempringham Abbey, 77/3; St Gilbert of,
'Sendale', thin silk, defind, 41.
Seneca quoted, lx.
Seneschalcy or High Stewardship, cxiv, *n.* 2, No. 7.
senged snoute, 102, sunburnt nose.
serful, 88/406, sorrowful, dire.
Serlo de Burgo, 23.
seuente, 112/341, seventh.
Severn to be dry, 121.
Shakspere's 'dangerous year', xliv.
shanyllynges, 90/469, shavelings.
sheaf of corn, Lord Burghley's crest, liv, lv, lii.
Shottesbrook in Windsor Forest, xxvii.
shoude, 86/313, show'd.
showd, 80/123, with shoes on.
showpe, 77/9, shap't, designd.
Shurley, Richard, cofferer of Hen. VII, xxi.
sickle-and-scythe prophecy, 89/440.
silver, is the Moon in Alchemy (?), 109/217.
Sinesius, 108/168.
sinks of Hen. VIII's kitchens to be cleansd every quarter, xxviii.
Sir Tristram, tale of, 144.
Sirach: his learned saw, 114/390.
sise, xxxviii, 'syse, waxe candell, *bouges*', Palsgrave (1530); '*bougie*, a size, or small round candle vsed in churches', Cotgrave (1611).
"sise, the best cast on the dyce," interpreted, xlv (*sise* = the common folk).
Sitcill, Lord Burghley's ancestor, 114/399. (See the fancid pedigree in *Holinshed*, iii. 1256.)
SKELTON wrote his *Colin Clout* at William Thynne's at Erith, ix, 10; character of his works, xiv, xv.
Skewsby, Yorkshire, xlviii.
slayn with, 81/147, slain by.
slechy, 97/707, sludgy, muddy.
sled, 80/100, A.S. *slǽd*, a slade, plain, open tract of country. Bosworth.
sleightie, 144, full of sleight, cunning.
Sloane MS. 3836, by F. Thynne, xciii.
Smith, Thomas, of Ostinhanger, a Customer, or Collector of Customs, xxii, *n.* 1.
snivelling, *adj.* cxl.
sodomy, 88/407.
solome, 79/74, solemn.
Solomon quoted, lvi.
Somerset, Edward, Duke of, xxii, *n.*
son-ybrent, 82/181, sunburnt.
sorcerus, 86/323, sorceress-like.
sorseye, 26/9, soreness, jealousy.
sotesome, 105/79, sweetsome, full of sweets.
soundyng, xxiv/13, tending, making.
Southwark, the White Lion and other prisons in, liv.
spalling spet, cxl.
Speght's Chaucer, cii; verses on, cvii.
SPEGHT, Thomas, and Francis

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Thynne, x; Thynne's Animadversions on his edition of Chaucer's *Works*, 2, 4—74; his additions of two spurious poems, 7, *n.* 2; spurious works attributed to Chaucer, 7, 69, 70, *n.*

Stamford, good schools at, 96/686; rival Oxford's, 146.

staming, 109/201, steaming.

Stapleton, Walter, Bp. of Exeter, 31.

Statute, 34 Hen. VIII, Chaucer's Works exempted from, xiv, 10.

Statutes of Eltham, xxiii.

Stemmata Bottevilliana, vii, xxii, *n.* 2, &c.

'Sterling' from the Esterlinges, 45.

steuyn, 94/598, voice, prophesy.

St Francis, fables about, 145.

Stilbon, 112/322.

Stittenham in Yorkshire, the Gowers of, 19.

Stoke Clymslond church, grant of next presentation, xxi.

'to stop that gap', 5.

stork, a revenger of adultery, 67-8.

Stowe, John; his poverty, x, 130; ? is an "inferior personne", xvii, 5; 'I forbeare to name' him, 24; his edition of Chaucer, 5, 6, *n.*; his note on Francis Thynne, ciii; Francis Thynne's on him, ciii; his caution, instance of, xliv, *n.*; is a Member of the old Society of Antiquaries, xciii; his basins for alms, 130; his character, 130-1.

Strangers not to eat in Hen. VIII's household offices, xxxii.

strap rod, 86/315, ? sharp rod.

straughte, 51, stretcht.

Straw, Jack, in *The Pilgrims Tale*, 9, *n.*

stuff (servants and stuff), xxxvi, goods and chattels.

suffice *to* their doom, 80/111, be enough *in* their judgment.

Sun, is golden corn, 112/312.

Sun, the 4th in the celestial sphere, 107/130, 141; 109/201; is gold, 109/220; 111/286.

sunner, 85/274, summoner.

surquidus, 87/377, proud.

Sussex danst, 117.

Sutton, James, xxx.

Swart, Martin, 89/443.

swow, 82/197, show.

Swynford, Katherine, John of Gaunt's mistress and wife, 23; her children by John of Gaunt legitimiz'd, 99.

Sylos and Anul, marriage between, cxv, *n.*

t for *th*: *toughe*, though, 77/22; *tryue*, thrive, 78/37; *Tessalonians*, 85/295; tretynis, threatens, 93/561.

T., F., of *The Case is Altered*, 1604, cxxxviii.

T., F., of Suffolk in 1667, cxliv.

'take my ease in mine inn', 77/17.

takyd, 82/176, gatherd, tackt?

Talbot, Earl of, lxi.

talshide, xxxviii, ? *schide* is a log or billet of wood (Halliwell's Glossary).

tamegoose, cxxxviii, a stupid.

Taurus, 31 degrees in, is April 22, 59—62.

taverners drunkards, cxxxii.

Taylor, Dr, martyr, 142.

Temple, lawyers not in it till the end of Edw. III, 21.

Temple of Glass, a MS. title of the spurious *Chaucers Dreme*, 30.

Tessalonians, 85/295.

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Testament of Love, 18; the spurious one, 12, *n.* 2.
Tewthers, 119.
Thalysonne (?Taliessin), prophecy attributed to, 116.
Thames, castles by, to be felld, 121.
the, 78/37, do, prosper.
Theatre, James Burbage's, in Shoreditch, cxxxv.
Theodorse, 119.
Theophraste, 55.
Thomas of Lancaster, tale of, 144.
Thomas, St, 101/11, his shrine at Canterbury.
Thopas, ryme of Sir, used for F. Thynne's bad verse, 114/411.
thuche, 93/579, tush!
Thynne, a friend of Erasmus, xxi.
Thynne, Anne: sole legatee and executrix of her husband, William Thynne, xl; is twice remarrid, and dies, xl.
THYNNE, Francis (born in 1545, died 1608):
his birth, education, and pursuits, ix—xi;
notices of his youth, at 9—12, 13 and 14, xlvii;
not brought up at any University, xlviii;
not a member of Lincoln's Inn, xlviii, though a friend of Egerton's at Lincoln's Inn in their 'yonger yeares,' ciii;
marries at 19, xlviii;
is in debt, and fear of prison, xlix;
his first antiquarian work in 1573, xlix;
his mottoes, xlix; is pursu'd by Envy, 103/18;
gets Letters of Administration to his mother's estate, xl, li;
is imprisond by his Wife's trustee, Mr Eynes, li;
but is not the madman that the Lansdowne MS. indexer supposes, lii;
(Thynne, Francis, *contin'd*)
his two letters from prison to Lord Burghley, lii, liv;
his poem on Lord Burghley's crest, lv; Appendix IV, p. 103;
his treatise to be dedicated to Lord Burghley, lvi;
his marriage unhappy, lvi;
his bad opinion of Wives, lvi;
is releast from prison, lvii;
arranges for a life-home at Longleat, but loses it, lviii;
writes *Homo, animal sociale*, lviii;
his *Perfect Ambassadoure*, lix;
'Reliques of my spoyled Librarie,' lxi;
Comentaries of Britaine, 1581-7, lxi;
notice of his father's 1-columnd cancelld edition discusst, xli, xliii; 76;
Pantographie of England, lxiv, lxxvi;
Continuation of Holinshed's Chronicle, 1585-6, lxiv—lxxxix;
the book half finisht before Thynne joind in, lxxiii;
character of Thynne's work, lxv;
some of his long Lists cut out of *Holinshed*, lxv;
reasons for this cutting-out, lxvi, lxviii;
his first leaping into the printer's shop, lxx;
Forewords to his *Annales of Scotland*, lxix;
his 5 lists of Scotch Officials, lxxi;
Catalogue of the Writers of Scotland, lxxiii;
his Insertions in Holinshed's *England*, lxxiv—lxxxix;
High Constables of England, lxxiv;
Protectors of England, lxxv;
Cardinals of England, lxxv;
Dukes of England, lxxvi;
Treasurers of England, lxxvii;
Chancellors of England, lxxix;
Earls of Leicester, lxxxi;
Archbishops of Canterbury, lxxxii;
the Lord Cobhams, lxxxv;
Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports, lxxxvi;
Writers on English History, lxxxix;

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(Thynne, Francis, *contin'd*)
on the Claim to the Barony of Abergavenny, xc;
first Application for a Post in the Heralds' Office, 1588, xci;
a Member of the old Society of Antiquaries, 1591-2, xciii; his speeches at it, xciii-xciv;
his Pedigree of Wm. Lambarde of Kent, 1592, xcvi;
s second Application for a Post in the Heralds' Office, 1593, xcvi;
his longer *Lives of the Lord Treasurers*, xcvi (*see* List of Works);
Discourse of Arms, 1594, xcvii;
Names and Arms of the Chancellors, 1597, xcviii;
full *Lives of the Lord Cobhams*, 1598, c;
two Letters to Sir John Thynne, 1598-9, ci;
Miscellanies of the Treasury, 1599, ci;
Animadversions on Speght's Chaucer, 1599, cii; 1—74;
Antiquity of Epitaphs in England, 1600, ciii;
Emblemes and Epigrams, 1600, lvi, ciii;
On the Lords Marshal, 1601-2, civ;
appointed Lancaster Herald, 1602, xi, cv;
Poem *Vpon the picture of Chaucer*, 1602, cvi;
Pedigrees in Harl. MS. 774, cviii;
Advocate and Anl'advocate (on the Bath and Bachelor Knights), 1605, cix;
Dutye and Office of an Heraulde of Armes, 1606, cxiii;
his gout, cxiii;
death, xi, cxiv;
character, xii, cxiv—cxvi;
his early copies of Treatises on Alchymy, cxiv, *n.*;
List of his Works, cxviii;
forgery of his signature, cxxvii, *n.* 1;
is *not* the author of the 4 spurious books that Mr J. P. Collier assigns to him, cxxvii;
Debate between Pride and Lowliness, cxxviii;
(Thynne, Francis, *contin'd*)
the *Cap and Head Disputation*, 1564, cxxix;
Newes from the North, 1579, cxxxi;
The Case is altered, 1604, cxxxvii;
is *not* the Fr. Th. of George Turbervile's Poem as Mr Collier says he is, cxlii;
his intended edition of Chaucer, 75, x, *n.* 2;
his love for Chaucer, 4, cvi;
his Chaucer MSS. disperst and stolen, 12;
he liv'd at Poplar, 12; and Bermondsey Street, xlix; and finally settl'd at Clerkenwell Green, xciv;
his books his surest friends, 106/98-9;
his praise of his patron Lord Burghley, lix, lxxxv, 114.
Thynne, John, xxi.
Thynne, Sir John, the builder of Longleat (*d.* 1580), ix, xl, 129; his agreement to find a home for Francis Thynne, lviii, not carri'd out by his son, *ib.*; 10; his Will, cxxvi.
Thynne, the 2nd Sir John, breaks faith with Francis Thynne, lxiv.
Thynne, the adulterer, 128.
Thynne, William, the Chaucer Editor's nephew, brother of Sir John Thynne, xxii, *n.*
Thynne, William: his ancestors, vii, xviii;
his marriage, viii
his family, viii;
his position and duties in Henry VIII's court, viii;
Henry VIII's grants to him, xxi, xxvii, xxviii;
is Second Clerk of Henry VIII's kitchen, xxi;
then Chief Clerk, xxi;
then Clerk Comptroller of the Household, xxviii;
his duties as such, xxxi—xxxvi;
is Collector of Customs, xxii;
his work like Chaucer's, xxxi;
his Lease of the Erith Rectorial Tithes, xxii, lviii;

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(Thynne, William, *continu'd*)
his Letters to Sec. Cromwell about it, 131-2;
grant of oaks from Shottesbrook, in Windsor Forest, xxvii; and from Falborne Park, xxviii;
at Anne Boleyn's Coronation Feast, xxvii, xxviii;
Contract with Hen. VIII's Scourer of Sinks, xxviii;
mentiond four times in the *Household Ordinances*, xxix;
Works half-time, and has board-wages when not at work, xxxvi;
his dinner and supper, xxxvii;
his breakfast and extras, xxxviii;
grants his perquisite of a yearly buck and doe from Beaudley Park, to William Whorwood, xxxviii;
inscription on his tomb, from Stowe, xxxix; from Maskell, 132;
his Will, xl;
his tomb, ix, xxvi (see Notes, 132);
his edition of *Chaucer*, xli; Sir Brian Tuke writes its Dedication, xxvi; supposd cancelld 1-column edition, xliii; 75;
his friendship for Skelton, ix, 10;
his commission to search for Chaucer MSS., xii, 6;
his additions to Chaucer's Works, 4, *n.*; 7;
his preparations for his edition, 6;
his first cancelld 1-column edition of Chaucer, 6—9; is a fiction, 75-6;
his (?) 2nd and 3rd editions of 1532 and 1542, 6, 71;
he put the spurious *Plowmans Tale* after the *Parson's*, 69;
his editions of Chaucer's Works, 71;
inscription on his tomb, 132.
tiller who sows cockle, 84/240.
tin, in Alchemy?, is Jupiter, 109/222.
toughe, 77/22, though.
Town and Country contrasted, cxliii.
Treasurers of England, Francis Thynne's Lives of, lxxvii; full Lives, lxxviii.
trembringe, 104/27, trembling.
'Trepegett,' an engine to cast stones, 41.
tretynis, 93/561, threatens.
Trevar, David, prophesies, 119.
Trevar, Edward Apivan, prophesies, 117.
trey = traitors, xlv.
triple Crowns, James I's, cxi.
Tri[s]magistus, 113/355
Tristram, Sir, tale of, 144.
trompettes, 49, trumpeters.
tryue, 78/37, thrive.
Tucker, Mr Stephen, Rouge Croix: notes on F. Thynne's letter, xci; letter from, xcvii.
Tuheodore, Edward, 119.
Tuke, Sir Brian, helpt Wm. Thynne, 6; wrote his dedication of his edition of *Chaucer* to Henry VIII, xxvi.
Turberville, George; his Poem to Francis Th.—not our F. Thynne, cxlii.
Tyllius, Johannes, *de Rebus Gallicis*, quoted, 72.
Tyrwhitt, T., on the *Pilgrims Tale*, 8, *n.*

vnbulke, 84/272, unload (or unbuckle?).
vncontrolable, xcix/9, uncontradictable.
vndowtyd, 89/433, undoubtedly.
unit, 94/614, became united.
vnity, lv.
unleste, 19, unless.
unorderly, *adj.* lix.
unsawn, 88/401, unsown.
unsered, 48, not yellowd.
unsinged, 48, not singed, fresh.

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unwitherd, 48.
'unseriall' or uncerial oak for Emelye's garland, 47.
unshale, 108/193, unshell, settle, clear up.
urled, 35, borderd.
Urswick, a friend of Erasmus, xxi.
Uvedall, Wm., late collector of Customs in the port of London, xxii.

vagabonds, none to be in Henry VIII's house, xxxiv.
vassalage, 52.
Venit, xxxiv, incoming, entrance (cp. 'exit').
Venom or poison, chemist's, 36.
Venus, in the 3rd seat, 107/129.
Vernicle, the, defind, 43.
Vescye, Eustace, 23.
visyte (Chaucer's Works), xxiv, l. 41, study.
Voarchoadumye, 109/211.?
Vowell, or Hooker, John, helpt to spoil Holinshed's *Chronicle*, 136.
vysiter, 81/163, visitor, inspector of monasteries, &c.

w = gu, in French, &c., 65-6.
'waketh' for 'maketh' wrong, in *The Nun's Priest's Tale*, 56.
Walsingham, pilgrimage to, 77/11.
Walsingham quoted, 24, 26, 29, 57.
wang tooth, 101/16.
Warbeck, Perkin, in *The Pilgrims Tale*, 9, *n.*; 89/447.
'ware' for 'where,' wrong, in *Nun's Priest's Tale*, B. 4146, p. 57-9.
Warner, W., on Chaucer's and Stow's tombs, 130.
Weldon, Edward, Clerk of the Greencloth, xxvii, xxviii, xxix.
welfaryng, *adj.* 82/170.
Welshmen's absurd Prophecies, 116.
Westminster, Matthew of, quoted, 37.
weyled, 109/209, veiled, hidden.
wher, 82/172, were.
white, is the Moon, 111/284.
White Lion prison in Southwark, liv, 135.
Whitgift, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, lxxxiv.
whitled, 145/1, filld with drink.
whom, 82/178, (hand) which.
whom, 87/366, which.
Whorwood, Wm., Wm. Thynne's friend, xxxviii.
Wife of Bath's Tale, quoted, xlvi, 79/94; *Prologue* is much from John of Salisbury, 55.
wilie beguile him selfe, 146, (in 1588, long before the play of *Wily Beguiled*).
willesse, 114/392, against one's will.
William of Malmesbury, quoted, 32, 59.
Windsor, xxviii; the son of the Lord of, 65.
Windsor Castle in building, 66.
Windsor, Little Park of: Henry VIII's dinner in the Lodge there, xxi.
Windsor, Sir Wm., 66.
wind-up-all, 146, end, close.
'Wiver' or Wivern, a dragon-like serpent, 41.
wives, best when dead, lvi.
wodward, xxvii, woodward, keeper of woods.
wolf, prophecy as to a, 120.

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Wolf, what it means in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, 98/726, 737.

Wolsey, Cardinal: his hatred of Skelton, 10; makes Wm. Thynne cancel his 1st edition of Chaucer's Works, 10; but query, 75; silver pillars borne before him, 63.

Wolsey's Statutes for Henry VIII's Household, xxii, &c.

Wood, Anthony, mistakes about Francis Thynne being at Oxford, xlviii, 133.

Wood, A., on Wm. Thynne the nephew, xxii, *n.*; his inventing of Oxford men, xlviii, *n.*

woodcock, cxxxviii, an idiot.

Woodsor, xxix.

workmen at Dover in 1583, good conduct of, lxxxviii.

Works naught; Faith only good, 83/211.

Wyat, Sir Thomas, was not the author of *The Pilgrims Tale*, 10.

Wylkynson, John, of Bishopsgate Street, London, Scourer of Sinks to Henry VIII, xxviii.

Xenogogie of Bedfordshire, F. Thynne's, lxii.

ydelhod, 87/356, idleness.

yer, 102/28, ere, before.

York, Edward III married at, 16.

yoyes, 105/77, joys.

yoyne, 112/329, join.

yoyninge, 110/263, joining conjunction.

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Psal:
Quum defecerit virtus mea,
ne derelinquas me,
Domine.

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[A.D. 1600, BY

FRANCIS THYNNE,

LANCASTER HERALD, AUTHOR OF "ANIMADVERSIONS ON SPEGHT'S EDITION OF CHAUCERS WORKES 1598," ETC.]

EDITED BY

F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A., CAMB.

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Horat. Ode 8: lib: 4 carmin.[1]

Donarem pateras grataque com[m]odus,
Censorine, meis æra sodalibus;
Donarem tripodas, præmia fortium
Graiorum; neque tu pessima munerum
Ferres, diuite me scilicet artium
Quas aut Parrhasius protulit, aut Scopas[2];
Sed non hæc mihi vis; nec tibi talium
Res est, aut animus delitiarum egens.
Gaudes carminibus: carminæ possumus
Donare, &c.

[1] Ad C. Marcium Censorinum.
[2] The next two lines of the original are left out:
Hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus,
Sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum.

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FOREWORDS.

THIS Text owes its printing, not to its own poetical merits, but to its adding somewhat to our knowledge of Francis Thynne,—the Chaucer-commentator, the author of the *Animadversions* of 1599 on Speght's *Chaucer*,—of whom and whose works I have given such a full account in my re-edition of those *Animadversions* for the Society's Reprints[1].

The *Emblemes* and *Epigrames* are both dull and poor; but they contain the wife-worrid Thynne's opinions on wives—who 're always necessary evils, the best is bad; who 're good when they die of old age, better when they die after some time during your life, and best when they die at once (p. 59);—his lines on some of the friends of himself and his patron Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Chancellor, "in those yonger yeares when Lincolns Inn societie did linke vs all in one cheyne of Amitie"—Thomas Valence[2], p. 47; (Francis) Meringe[3], p. 61; Browne, p. 62;—a note of an old London inn, 'the Rose within Newgate', p. 75, where friends then gatherd and chatted; a few illustrations of Shakspere—'glasse vessells for banquettinge are dailie had in pryse', for Falstaff's 'Glasses, glasses is the only

[1] This re-edition is more than four times the size of our 1st edition, and contains the only known fragment of the *Pilgrims Tale*. Members can have it at half-price, 5*s*., with 6*d*. more for postage.

[2] See Notes, p. 101.

[3] "Among the Lincoln's Inn Admissions, the names of John Browne and Francis Meringe both appear in the list, 23 January, 4 Philip and Mary, A.D. 1558. There is also a Thomas Browne, admitted 13 Octr., 3 Eliz. A.D. 1561. I observe in the list of 3 Eliz. the name of William Goldbourne, admitted Febr. 15, with the names of John Browne and Thomas Egerton as his manucaptors."—Martin Doyle, Steward. The names of Waterhouse, p. 60; Stukelie, p. 71; Willford, p. 73; Garrett, p. 75; Humfrie Waldroun, p. 76; Burrell, p. 77; Eldrington, p. 94, do not seem to be in the Lincoln's Inn lists, so far as Mr Doyle's searches have extended.

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drinking[1]', 2 *Hen. IV*, II. i. 151; 'Dictinian Diana', for Holofernes's 'Dictynna, goodman Dull', *Love's Lab. Lost*, IV. ii. 37;—an opinion, interesting for Bacon's case, of a Judge's friend, writing to the highest Judge in the land, showing that bribery of Judges was an openly recognizd matter[2] here in England; and lastly, a set of mentions of, or poems to, the English writers whom Francis Thynne honourd—Chaucer (though Lydgate's *Temple of Glass* is wrongly assignd to him on the authority of Sir John Thynne's MS still at Longleat[3]), p. 62, 71, 77, 3; Spenser (on 'Spencers Fayrie Queene'), p. 71; Gascoigne (his Steele Glasse), p. 62, l. 11; Arthur Golding, p. 77, l. 16; Camden (on Mr Camden's *Britania*), p. 93, 95; and Leland, p. 95. To me, an Egham man, the 'Gallopinge' poem on p. 80 is interesting, from its mention of Hounslow Heath, which I've so often driven over, and where my father, riding many years ago, was accosted one evening by a highwayman, who was shot a few minutes after, by Lord Stowell.

The motive of Francis Thynne in presenting his autograph poems to his patron, Sir Thomas Egerton, was doubtless, gratitude, both in its ordinary meaning of 'thankfulness for past benefits', and in its extraordinary sense of 'a keen sense of future favours'. It is pretty clear from Thynne's 13th Embleame, 'Liberalitie', and his 61st, 'Benefitts', that he expected Egerton to give him something,—hard cash, no doubt—and that soon, for he adds the reminder,

> . . hee gives twice, that quicklie and with speed
> bestowes his guift to serve our present need.—l. 47-8.

In the Ivy poem, p. 82, l. 5, we get a glimpse of Francis Thynne's ivy-coverd 'howse in Clerkenwell Greene', then a pleasant suburban

[1] See the capital bit on this in Harrison's *Description of England*, p. 147 of my edition for the New Shakspere Society; and Stafford's *Conceipte*, p. 51, New Sh. Soc.

[2] Soe the old Iudge, once fullie fraughte with guiftes and briberie,
Will not be easilie ledd by guiftes to wrest the lawes awrye.
But hee that commeth new in place, and thirsteth after gould,
Or his Iuditiall office buyes, with him there is noe hould;
for hee that buies, is forct to sell; and new corrupted Iudge
Takes all and more; and, for reward, is made a sinfull drudge.

[3] See Mr Bradshaw's note in my edition of F. Thynne's *Animadversions*, p. 30.

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village, in which he finally settl'd down, and where—of drink and gout, as is suppos'd,—he died in 1604. Whether his 71st Epigram, 'The Courte and Cuntrey', p. 88—91, represents his own case and opinions I cannot tell: its arguments are the regular stock ones of the time; and I can hardly think that he, living at Clerkenwell, and going in to the Heralds' College regularly to his work, could pretend to be a countryman as oppos'd to a Londoner.

The Text is printed from Thynne's autograph MS, belonging to Lord Ellesmere, who has been kind enough to lend it me to print, for which I thank him much. The italics in words are expansions of MS contractions; words wholly in italics are those written by Thynne in a larger hand than the rest of his lines.

My thanks are due, and are hereby tenderd, to Mr Martin Doyle, the Steward of Lincoln's Inn, for searching the early Admission-books for me; to Colonel Chester, for his identification of Thomas Valence; to Mr P. A. Daniel for his many kind hints and notes; and to Mr W. G. Stone for his Index and notes.

The Arboretum, Leamington,
Good Friday, April 14, 1876.

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CONTENTS.

EMBLEMES.

(1) Pietie and Impietie, p. 5.
(2) Vertue should not be condempned for one smale imperfection, p. 6.
(3) Temperance abateth fleshlie Delightes, p. 6.
(4) Death and Cupid, p. 7.
(5) Art, the antidote against fortune, p. 8.
(6) Labour quencheth Lecherie, p. 8.
(7) Fortune, p. 9.
(8) Bryberie, p. 10.
(9) Immortallitie of the Sowle, p. 11.
(10) Sotted loue, p. 12.
(11) Pride, p. 12.
(12) Patience, p. 13.
(13) Liberalitie, p. 14.
(14) Vertue of Herbes, p. 16.
(15) Wine, p. 16.
(16) Mann, p. 17.
(17) Witt, p. 18.
(18) The subiect (follows the Prince, as the Heliotrope does the Sun), p. 18.
(19) Diligence obtayneth Riches, p. 20.
(20) Vsurie, p. 20.
(21) Myrtilus Sheilde, p. 21.
(22) Vayne Ostentations, p. 21.
(23) Losse of hurtfull thinges is gayne, p. 22.
(24) Internall vertues are best, p. 23.
(25) Threates of the inferior to be contemned, p. 23.
(26) Philosophie, p. 24.
(27) Societie, p. 25.
(28) Counsell and vertue subdue deceipfull Persons, p. 25.
(29) Pleasures to be eschewed, p. 26.
(30) Vnitinge of Contraries make sound Iudgement, p. 27.
(31) Reuenge, p. 27.
(32) Peace, p. 28.
(33) Pouertie, p. 29.
(34) Syluer worlde, p. 29.
(35) Enuye, p. 29.
(36) Our terme or limit of life not remoueable, p. 30.
(37) God slowlie punisheth, p. 31.
(38) Dull witts, p. 32.
(39) The wretched not to be Doblie greiued, p. 32.

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(40) Noe impuritie in heauen, p. 33.
(41) Honor and rewarde nourisheth artes, p. 34.
(42) Eloquence, p. 34.
(43) Art cannot take awaye the vice of nature, p. 35.
(44) Fortune, p. 35.
(45) Ganymede, p. 36.
(46) Eloquent wisdome, p. 36.
(47) Poetrye, p. 37.
(48) Ensignes of the Clergye, p. 37.
(49) Flatterers, p. 39.
(50) Our betters or enemies not to be prouoked with wordes, p. 39.
(51) Wisdome and Strength are to be Ioyned, p. 40.
(52) The Meane (between extremes), p. 40.
(53) Not to climbe ouer highe, p. 41.
(54) Monument of a harlott, p. 41.
(55) Earthlie mindes, p. 42.
(56) The olde Testament, p. 43.
(57) Sophistrie, p. 43.
(58) Ingratitude, p. 45.
(59) Children in youth to be framed, p. 45.
(60) Of the same, p. 46.
(61) Benefitts, p. 46.
(62) Prodigalitie, p. 47.
(63) To m^r Thomas Valence, p. 47.
(64) Strangers more freindlie to vs then our owne kinde and kindred, p. 49.

EPIGRAMES.

(1) The Armes of England, p. 53.
(2) Crisopeia, p. 53.
(3) Vpon the armed Statue of Venus, p. 54.
(4) Sundrie and strange effectes of wyne, p. 54.
(5) Contemninge, p. 56.
(6) What maketh menn forgett themselues, p. 56.
(7) Thinges not to be recalled, p. 56.
(8) The vnapt not to be forced to learninge, p. 57.
(9) The waye to gett and keepe frendes, p. 57.
(10) Of Stumblinge, p. 58.
(11) First guestes at a feaste, p. 58.
(12) When a wife is badd, worse, and worst. When she is good, better, and beste, p. 59.
(13) A Puritane, p. 59.
(14) Of heauie and light, p. 59.
(15) Waterhowse, p. 60.
(16) A preist which knewe not anie letter, p. 60.

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(17) The hedd and the tayle, p. 60.
(18) Cause of a deere yeare, p. 61.
(19) Pinkes, p. 61.
(20) Shoinge, p. 62.
(21) Glasses, p. 62.
(22) One assured he was elected, p. 63.
(23) Cham (Ham), p. 63.
(24) Fayth, p. 63.
(25) Cuttinge of tyme, p. 63.
(26) A tench and a wench, p. 64.
(27) Whoe are happie, p. 64.
(28) Linguistes, p. 65.
(29) Drinkinge, p. 65.
(30) Enuye, p. 66.
(31) Mann must provide for bodie and sowle, p. 66.
(32) Mongers, p. 67.
(33) Tyme, p. 68.
(34) Receipts and expenses, p. 68.
(35) Counterfetts deuoure the whole world, p. 69.
(36) That one thinge Produceth annother, p. 69.
(37) A longe nose, p. 70.
(38) Spencers Fayrie Queene, p. 71.
(39) Martine, p. 71.
(40) Vsurers, p. 71.
(41) Grace, p. 72.
(42) Cardinge, p. 72.
(43) Reelinge, p. 73.
(44) A Rose, p. 73.
(45) Sowinge, p. 73.
(46) Woodcocks, p. 74.
(47) Kissinge, p. 74.
(48) White heares, p. 75.
(49) Cutters, p. 76.
(50) The deceased Pretor, p. 76.
(51) To Humfrie Waldronn, p. 76.
(52) Fortune, p. 77.
(53) To his freind Burrell, p. 77.
(54) Issues, p. 78.
(55) Mariage, p. 78.
(56) Sweete mouthes, p. 79.
(57) Fooles, p. 79.
(58) Gallopinge, p. 80.
(59) Churches, p. 81.
(60) Menn before Adame, p. 81.
(61) Iuye, p. 82.
(62) Iestinge, p. 82.
(63) Honor, p. 83.
(64) Temperance, p. 83.
(65) Doinge nothinge, p. 85.
(66) Astrologers, p. 85.
(67) The herbe *filius ante Patrem*, p. 86.
(68) Monstrous Childe, p. 86.
(69) A godly Mann, p. 87.
(70) Kindred, p. 88.
(71) The Courte and Cuntrey, p. 88.
(72) The number 1, 2, 3, 4, p. 92.
(73) Mr Camdens Britania, p. 93.
(74) Solomons witt, p. 94.
(75) Leylandes rightefull ghost. p. 95.
(76) Quiet and Rest, p. 96.

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INDEX OF FIRST LINES.

EMBLEMES.

		PAGE
(8)	After his Fathers funerall, when as Tiberius went ...	10
(33)	As fishe *Remora* staies the Shipp	29
(44)	As goulden Sonne doth worke from out the Skye ...	35
(60)	As tender whelpe, whome natures skill hath taught ...	46
(10)	Autoritie and *Loue* will scarce agree	12
(16)	Behould, mann is the litle world	17
(53)	*Bellerephon*, which ruld without offence	41
(30)	Comforting *Ceres* Ioynd with hopps of bitter taste ...	27
(31)	*Dianiane* dogge, with blinde furie inflamed	27
(6)	*Dictinian Diana*, which of *Phœbus* borroweth lighte ...	8
(51)	Doe tell, rude verse, why that pure virginn fayre ...	40
(15)	ffayne wouldst thow know wherfore the god	16
(29)	ffonde *Paris*, in vnbridled age doth chuse	26
(36)	ffrom neck it hath the humane shape, the rest a piller stone	30
(9)	In former age, the *Ethnikes*, false gods servinge ...	11
(59)	In yongest yeares, when will and strength doe want ...	45
(26)	Ioues sonne, the valiant *Hercules*	24
(64)	My loved frend, and lovinge therwithall	49
(63)	My Valence, to thy learned vewe this skillesse vers I sende	47
(17)	Nothing more smooth then artificiall glasse	18
(5)	On rolling ball doth fickle fortune stande	8
(32)	*Pluto*, the god of worldlie wealth	28
(23)	Producinge earth inrich'd, makes rich againe ...	22
(57)	*Saturns* daughter, and *Ioue* his Iealious wife	43

Digitized by Google

		PAGE
(41)	Shewe mee, sweete muse, why thow and all the rest ...	34
(42)	Some learned menn affirme by abstruce skill	34
(50)	*Strymonian* Cranes, which by their ayerie flight ...	39
(24)	Sweet tasting aple, which this faire virginn beares ...	23
(47)	The artificiall Scale composd of gould	37
(39)	The birde of *Ioue*, the Eagle of flight most free ...	33
(40)	The blinded boye, which with his peircinge darts ...	33
(38)	The cheife of gods, the mightie *Ioue*	32
(62)	The craftie Fox, with longe and bushye tayle ...	47
(52)	The *Daulian Philomell*, whose warblinge voice ...	40
(21)	The famous souldier, *Myrtilus* the Knighte	21
(4)	The hatefull *Death* Ioynd to the *God of loue*	7
(43)	The healthfull bathe which daielie wee doe see ...	35
(2)	The heavenlie pallas of Celestiall skye	6
(25)	The melitane dogge, bredd onlie for delight	23
(35)	The mightie *Ioue* from highest heaven did sende ...	29
(11)	The morrall *Seneca*, whose penn intreatinge matters graue	12
(56)	The Oke, bearing a corne, *Ioues* sacred tree	43
(12)	The patient *Socrates*, true mirror of our life	13
(27)	The purple Rose which first *Damasco* bredd	25
(7)	There is a birde which takes the name of Paradise the faire	9
(49)	There is a kinde of men, whome hell hath bredd ...	39
(34)	The sacred Crowne adorning curled hayre	29
(61)	The silver Moone, *Diana* Virgine bright	46
(19)	The simple Cock, that with a hungrie minde	20
(58)	The stam'ringe Cuckooe, whose lewd voice doth greeve	45
(18)	The statlie flower that faire rich India yeldes	19
(55)	The statelie Stagg, whose hornes threaten the skye ...	42
(46)	The talking byrd, which gloriously is cladd	36
(28)	The valiant knight whome *Perseus* wife did love ...	25
(20)	The wealthie mann with blessings great indued ...	20
(3)	Thow *Cithereane Venus*, I would knowe	6
(48)	Thow doest demaund of me	37
(22)	Wee dailie see the fruitfull *Phœbus* fier	21
(37)	What doth the waightie millstone meane	31
(1)	When false *Synon*, with tongue of guilefull tale ...	5

Digitized by Google

PAGE
(14) Whilste prudent *Epidaure*, the learned leeche ... 16
(54) Whose tombe is this? whose bones doth this contayne 41
(13) Why doe these virginns faire, the *Graces* three ... 14
(45) Yea, impure mindes whom vncleane lusts defile ... 36

EPIGRAMES.

(26) A Catholike and a Protestant were frendlie sett at meate 64
(65) A Crabbed Cobler, and his slothfull wife 85
(37) A knight that should with curtesie a ladie entertayne 70
(6) Alluring bewtie, with her cristall face 56
(41) A man of lewd living all vertue sett at naught ... 72
(32) A messe of mongers on *Holborne hill* 67
(56) A noble Earle, to vertue allwaies bent 79
(33) An Auncient knight of ffee and of renowne 68
(27) *Antomedon* the *Greeke Poet* doth tell 64
(76) As wearie bodie doth restore his strength with rest ... 96
(48) At the Rose within Newgate, ther frendlie did meete 75
(34) A tutor, gluttinous and prodigall 68
(67) A vertuous Ladie, skilfull herbaliste 86
(52) Blinde Fortune, with her fonde and sencelesse sence ... 77
(13) Dame *Lais* is a puritane by religion 59
(55) Deepe witted menn, b'experience haue contrived ... 78
(68) Did Learned *Ouid* live, with poetrie divine 86
(3) ffayre *Venus*, tell whye dost thow Armor beare ... 54
(74) ffreind *Eldrington*, thow art as wise 94
(19) Friend *Meering*, I deeme you smell verie sweete ... 61
(58) ffrom Windsore ridinge, to the statelie towne 80
(9) Fyne witts, much art, sweet tongues, and flatterie ... 57
(20) Good Browne, thow doest complaine with heavie cheere 62
(60) Good *Moses* (which didst write by sprite of God) ... 81
(16) Good zealous preist, thy hart more than thy skill ... 60
(17) Great was the glorious fame, most worthie knight ... 60
(69) He is a godlie mann, that doth with tongue and minde 87

Digitized by Google

PAGE

(46) He is as wise as a Woodcock, all wee doe see 74
(57) Hee was not wise, his witt hath him deceyved ... 79
(23) In all the course of thy vnhappie yeares 63
(49) Iack, I here thow hast leaft thine ould trade 76
(43) Iohn, thy wife, to live doth take great payne ... 73
(42) *Kate* is a good huswife, as all men saye 72
(66) Malevolent *Saturne*, vnhappie starr 85
(39) Menn say thow art call'd the Rich Martine 71
(2) My dolefull muse, bewayle in mournefull rimes ... 53
(12) My frend, yf that my Iudgement do not fayle ... 59
(71) My yonge and youthfull yeares 88
(72) One simple thinge cann nothinge worke 92
(24) Our Saviour *Christ*, with words of greife complayned 63
(14) Philosophers were fooles, that taught of ould 59
(38) Renowmed Spencer, whose heavenlie sprite 71
(40) Stukelie the vsurer is dead, and bid vs all farwell ... 71
(45) Sweete flowers growe when gardeners sowes the seed ... 73
(59) The Auncient *Saxons* did full Christianlie 81
(11) The buzzinge flye which falls in everie thinge ... 58
(25) The Curious gardiner, with his cruell Shires 63
(4) The drunken menn, whome gluttonie doth fill ... 54
(31) The fairest Creature which the heavenlie hand ... 66
(29) The first delightinge draught 65
(36) The frutefull peace begetts desired plentie 69
(63) The glorious Queene, honor, desir'd of all 83
(64) The heroike vertues Cardinall 83
(73) The holie licor, whose mysteries divine 93
(54) The Ioyfull mother brings forth manie faire yssues ... 78
(35) The kinge deuoures the husbandman 69
(53) The loathed povertie still shall thee feede 77
(10) The prowde horse that treades with statelie pace ... 58
(1) The sacred Lyon of *Iudeas* princelie lyne 53
(7) The stone once cast out of the hand or slinge ... 56
(21) The sundrie sort of glasses which art doth put in vre 62
(61) Thow Bacchus plant, which allwaies greene dost springe 82
(18) Thow fondlie askest me, as though I were a god ... 61

Digitized by Google

PAGE
(22) Thow greatlie bragst how that thow art assur'd ... 63
(30) Thow monster of mankinde, obscurer of good name ... 66
(47) Three pleasant gentlemen vpon the waye 74
(62) Three things there be which maie susteyne noe Ieste ... 82
(50) Thy vertue, not thy vice; faith, not dissembling speech 76
(8) To *Salamanca* yf thow send an Asse 57
(28) Twoe gentlemen at meate by enterchaunge 65
(75) What *Endore* phytonesse, what envious hart 95
(5) Whoe doeth contempne the worlds fond vanitie ... 56
(70) Why kneele you heere, faire Ladies, thus amased ... 88
(44) Willford, thow lovest a pleasant Rose verie well ... 73
(15) With milder sport, and not with bitter speech ... 60
(51) Yf reasons worthie minde prescribe this reede ... 76

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To the right honorable his Singuler good Lord, Sir Thomas Egerton, Knight, Lord Keper of the greate Seale.

It hath byn, my verie good Lord, a thinge allwaies vsed (and therfore to be pardoned, since custome maketh one other nature, and the Lawe sayth, *Comunis error facit ius*) that as well the learned, throughe the height of their witts, as the vnlearned, through the desire to houlde the course of the worlde, haue delivered their conceites to the viewe of all menn, for as sayth *Perseus:*

Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.

A thinge trulie verefied in mee, whoe, like blinde Bayarde, as an owle amongst birdes, am com vppon the stage (in the troope of learned poems of manye divine conceites) playeng the part of the poet *Codrus Meuius* and *Bauius* mentioned by *Iuuenall, Virgill,* and *Horace,* for which yet I dare not crave pardon (that falt being inexcusable) because it was in my choice whether I would vtter my follies or not; and then willinglie comitting a fault (for it is soe much a fault as it is voluntarilie donn) I cannot with reason craue patience or pardonn therof, wherfore I must abide the censure [* leaf 2, back] and taxe of your lordships singuler Iudgement, although you maye Iustlie deale with me as *Silla* did with a badd poet, to whome writing an Epigram against *Scilla,* of boghed verses, some short and some longe, *Scylla* commanded a reward to be given to him, to thend he should never after compose anie more verses.

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which yet, yf your *Lordship* should vse towards mee, I would not (with Actius the poet) repent mee of these my harshe rimes, because I maye hope hereafter to wryte farr better; for your *Lordship* well knoweth that our witts, inventions, and writings, are compared to the frutes of trees which at their first encreasing are hard, harshe and bitter, but in the end (by the comfort of the beneficiall sonne) are made softe, swete, and acceptable to the pallate. But yf it should not fortune mee hereafter to attayne a dellycate style, or more wittie invention, to satisfie your *Lordships* expectance, Yet I hope you will take these in good part, following the example of *Lisander*, whoe did soe love and embrace Poetrie (even of the worst sort) that he allwaies had the badd Poet *Chyrill* with him in his warres, And with silver fylled the Capp of *Antiochus* whoe had written but
[* leaf 2] homelie verses *in his commendations: for which cause I presume to consecrate to your *Lordship* the naked (for soe I doe terme them, because they are not clothed with engraven pictures) emblemes and Epigrams, what soever they be, partlie drawen out of histories, and partlie out of Phisicall Philosophie, but tending to moralitie, and for the most part endinge in necessarie preceptes, and perswatione to vertue. which I doubt not but your Lordshipp will accepte in such sorte as maye be answerable to your honorable curtesey, and my desire, wherof the firste is wont not to reiecte what before I haue offered vnto you, and the other is readie to merit the continuance of that which your Lordship hath before vouchsafed vnto mee, soe that I cannot dispaire but that your *Lordship* will take them in better parte then they deserve. And that the rather, because some of them are composed of thinges donn and sayed by such as were well knowne to your Lordshipp, and to my self in those yonger yeares when Lincolns Inn societie did linke vs all in one cheyne of Amitie; and some of them

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are of other persons yet living, which of your Lordship are both loved & liked. But yf all these causes should not move your *Lordship* vnto their likinge, yet this good would growe vnto you by *these follies, that they [* leaf 2, back]
will give you cause of myrth, in notinge the lightnes and vayne conceites of the autor, which might have employed his endevours in more grave and beneficiall studies.

To discourse of the nature of Emblemes or Epigramms, what thinges be required to perfect them, and to what end they should be made, is nedeles to your *Lordship*, because *Paulus Iouius, Lucas Contiles, Cladius Minoes* vpon *Alciat*, & divers other menns labors intreating therof, are not vnknowen to you whose Iudgment and lerning hath peirced the depth of vniuersall knowledge; & therfore in vaine for mee to bring owles to *Athens*, or add water to the large Sea of your rare lerning, in superfluous itterating that wherof you are not Ignorant, beinge one whoe hath adorned your excellencie of lawe with bewtifull flowers of all [1]Philosophicall doctrine, as well divine as humane.

Thus, my good Lord, in all dutifull love commendinge these my slender poems (which may be equalled with Sir *Topas* ryme in *Chaucer*) vnto your good likinge, and comitting me to your honorable good favour and furtherance (to add oyle to the emptie lampe of my muse, for mayntenance of the light therof, which without the comfortable heate of your honorable patronage will soone be extinguished) I humblie take my leaue. from my howse in Clerkenwell Grene, the 20 of *December*[2] 1600.

Youre lordshippes in all dutye,

Francis Thynne

./. / ./. / ./

[1] *MS.* Pholosophicall

[2] The '20', 'December', and words after '1600', were filld in after the text was written, and in paler ink.

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Emblemes. [leaf 4]

(1) Pietie and Impietie.

When false *Synon*, with tongue of guilefull tale,
had causd the monstrous woodden horse of *Greece*
to enter *Troy* wales, the bitter bale
of Priams state, flaminge in everie peece, 4
throughe raginge fiers, *Eneas*, full of pittie,
his sonne and father ledd forth of the Cittie. 6

He bare his aged Syre on shoulders stronge,— 7
oh sweete burdenn! the which the sonne did crave,—
and in his hand, Aschainus ledd alonge.
oh Fathers love! which never end maye haue. 10
his father, him self, his sonne, throughe *Grecian* foes
Eneas leades, when hee from *Troye* goes. 12

A lovinge deede of famous pietie, 13
when strength of youth releeveth feeble sprite;
a naturall deed of sonne his love and dutie,
to helpe his syre, which brought him into light; 16
for which this holie mann doth iustelie gaine
renowned fame, for ever to remayne. 18

But thow, oh wicked monster of beastlie minde, 19 [leaf 4, back]
Cruell and blodie *Nero*, the dregges of kinges,
contrarie to Nature, and fleshlie kinde,
(with greefe I doe abhorr to wright these thinges) 22
didst noe whit shame, thy mothers wombe to teare,
to see where shee did such a viper beare. 24

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Wherfore to thee is left perpetuall shame,
to kill thy mother, to answere thy desire.
But to Eneas, doth growe eternall fame,
that sav'd his aged father from the fire:
hee, for reward, raisëd *Troy* walles againe;
thow, for reward, in beastlie sort wert slaine.

(2) Vertue should not be condempned for one smale imperfection.

The heavenlie pallas of Celestiall skye,
resoundes with pleasant notes of musicks skill;
the godds and goddesses, with mellodie,
to *Genius* doe sacrifice their fill.

They leave the Care they had for earthlie thinges;
they daintie feastes freequent with sweet delight,
[leaf 5] before whose eyes faire *Venus* freshlie springes,
in apt measure daunsing, with comelie sight.

Shee footes it soe, with crowne of flowers in hand,
that all the godds extoll her for the same;
but beinge prais'd by that moste sacred bande,
Momus beginns her daunsinge for to blame.

And findinge fault,—I knowe not well wherfore,
still redie, what best is, for to deface,—
affirmd the slipper which faire *Venus* wore,
with craaking noyse, her dauncinge did disgrace.

(3) Temperance abateth fleshlie Delightes.

Thow *Cithereane Venus*, I would knowe,
why thow, and *Cupid* houldinge of his bowe,

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soe pensive bee, and over fier doe stande,
warming of thy feete, and warming of his hande? 4
Oh why? doth love and luste feele their decaye,
Yf *Ceres* and *Iacchus* be awaye?
Where Sobernes doth raigne amongst the wise,
there lust and hurtfull pleasures still doe frise. 8
They finde noe foode, nor anie warrs, can make [leaf 5, back]
against the modest *whi*ch sparing diet take.
but if that wealth and dronkennes beare stroke,
they, wicked warres of Lecherie, provoke. 12

---

(4) Death and Cupid.

The hatefull *Death* Ioynd to the *God of loue*
in one Cabine setled themselves to sleepe;
both had their bowes and shaftes, their might to prove;
the one gaue mirth, the other forct to weepe. 4
Thus blinded love, and death at this time blinde,
by chance doe meete, by chance doe harbor finde. 6

But starting forth of this their former rest, 7
heedlesse, the one, the others weapons caught:
the goulden shaftes from *Cupid*, *Death* berefte;
the dartes of *Death*, dame *Venus* sonne had raughte. 10
thus contrarie to kinde, and their nature,
Cupid doth slea, and *Death* doth love procure. 12

Ould doating fooles, more fit for *Carons shipp*, 13
that feele the goute, to grave *whi*ch take their waye,
doe fall in love and youthfull-like doe skippe,
deckinge their heads with garlands fresh and gaye. 16
Their yeares and daies they easelie doe forgett, [leaf 6]
and from their harte, colde sottishe sighes do fett. 18

But striplinges and yonge boyes that wounds receive
by yonge *Cupid*, then *Nestor*, yet more oulde,

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against their kinde, their wished lift doe leave,
and vnto *Acheron* the waye doe houlde.
But *Cupid*, cease! and *Death*, thine owne stroke give!
Let yonge menn love, let ould menn cease to live.

(5) Art, the antidote against fortune.

On rolling ball doth fickle fortune stande;
on firme and setled square sitts *Mercurie*,
The god of Arts, with wisdomes rodd in hande:
which covertlie to vs doth signifie,
that fortunes power, vnconstant and still frayle,
against wisdome and art cannot prevaile.

ffor as the Sphere doth move continuallie,
and showes the course of fickle fortunes change,
soe doth the perfect square stand stedfastlie,
and never stirrs, though fortune liste to range.
[leaf 6, back] wherefore, Learne Artes, which allwaies stedfast prove;
therbye, hard happes of fortune to remove.

(6) Labour quencheth Lecherie.

Dictinian Diana, which
Of *Phœbus* borroweth lighte,
The glistring Queene of Woodes and groves,
and Ladie of the nighte,
Pursues the Hart—whose nimble feete
doe make him seeme to flie,—
with bowe and howndes, whose thundringe voice
doth Eccho in the Skye.
Yonge *Cupid* is not farr behinde,
but followeth on as as faste.
He shootes, but leaves no wound; in vaine
his fierie dartes are caste.

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If Ignorant of cause thow bee,
why loue can take not holde
Of chast and travelinge Diane,
Of this thow maiste be bolde:
It is, for that shee not consumes
her golden time in vaine,
Nor Idle thoughts of wanton youth
doe harbor in her brayne;
ffor, flienge Canker of slothfull eise, [leaf 7]
in huntinge spends the daye,
Wastinge her time with those delights,
to beate fond thoughts awaie.
Whoe therfore wiselie seekes to shunn
the force of *Cupids* Ire
vse exercise, flie Idle thoughtes;
soe shalt thow quench his fire.

---

(7) Fortune.

There is a birde w*hi*ch takes the name
of Paradise the faire,
Which allwaies lives, beatinge the winde,
and flienge in the Ayre.
For envious nature him denies
the helpe of resting feete,
wherby hee forced is, in th'ayre
incessantlie to fleete.
Soe the vncertaine light and wilde
fowle fortune variable,
whoe onlie in vnconstancie
doth shewe herself most stable,
Doth never, in one pace or sorte, [leaf 7, back]
prove constant in her power,
But doubtfull, fleeting here and there,
still changing everie hower.

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Wherefore the cunninge *Smirnians*
her Image carved out,
With feete cut from her leggs, and sette
on ball turninge aboute.
And for she could not setled stande,
they sayd, as doth appeare,
'Sweet *Fortune*, thow dost flie in th'ayre,
like birde depainted here.'

---

(8) Bryberie.

After his Fathers funerall,
when as Tiberius went
Vnto his howse, his tender harte
with pittie did relent;
For, seeinge of a wretched mann
with scabbs and sores opprest,
On whom the suckinge flies did feed,
not suffringe him to reste,
[leaf 8] Hee calld his servant, willinge him
to drive awaye with speed,
Those Cormorantes which eate his fleshe,
and forced him to bleede.
The mann obayed: but when he would
haue beate those flies awaye,
Thee wretched sowle did him forbid,
and mourninglie did saye:
"Yf that these gorged gnawinge flies,
full glutted with my bloode,
Were beaten from their place of praye,
newe troope, not half soe good,
Leane and greedie, with hungrie mawes,
would then renewe my paine,
and suck my blood even to the death,
not sparinge anie vayne.

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Soe the old Iudge, once fullie fraughte
with guiftes and briberie,
Will not be easilie ledd by guiftes
to wrest the lawes awrye.
But hee that commeth newe in place,
and thirsteth after gould,
Or his Iuditiall office buyes,
with him there is noe hould;
for hee that buies, is forct to sell; [leaf 8, back]
and new corrupted Iudge
Takes all and more; and, for reward,
is made a sinfull drudge.

---

(9) Immortallitie of the Sowle.

In former age, the *Ethnikes*, false gods servinge,
this solempne Ceremonie vsed to their dedd,
That when the paled corps went to buryenge,
a lawrell Crowne they wreathed about his head.

The cause wherof being asked by *Adrian*,
the famous Emperour of the *Romaine* state,
Byas replied: 'because that then, ech man
whome death reduceth to that happie state,

'forsaken hath all worldlie wretchednes;
they feele noe greefe, or sorrowes heavie payne;
wherfore, since they attaine such blessednes,
this garland shewes the Crowne which they doe gayne.'

Then since those vertuous *Ethnickes*, with such Ioye
addornd the funeralls of deceased wighte,
Whose faithelesse sowles, feirce *Pluto* did destroye,— [leaf 9]
for vnto them was shut the gate of lighte,—

Why should we faithfull *Christ*ians bewaile
our loved frendes, and celebrate with greefe—
the manne deceased, with scaping Satans gayle,
leaves woe, and winns a place of sweete releefe,—

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Since vnto vs is made assured promise
for to enioye the vision of gods sight,
and to ascend Celestiall place of blisse,
our god to praise, in whome wee shall delight.

(10) Sotted loue.

Autoritie and *Loue* will scarce agree,
and in one place are neuer found to bee;
for decencie must serve to ech estate,
and ech must live according to his fate.
Nice *Sardanapalus, th'assirian Kinge,*
a mann effeminate in losse livinge,
doth fall in love, and loves so foolishlie
that hee forgetts his state and maiestie.
[leaf 9, back] For, leaving of the kingdomes needfull charge,
and Heroike deedes, his kingdome to enlarge,
(oh sottishe loue!) hee whollie followeth luste;
hee followes Venus; in her doth hee truste;
hee locks himself from other companie;
and farr abasing his Regalitie,
not like a valiant mann, but all from kinde,
in woemens workes doth cheefest comfort finde:
hee cardes, and spinnes with distaffe in his hande;
hee workes and sowes, fast wrapt in *Venus* bande.
Wherfore yf thow wilt gayne an honest name,
and deedes performe to winn eternall fame,
Let Wemenn never soe bewitch thy witt,
as thow be forc'd from thine owne kinde to flitt.

(11) Pride.

The morrall *Seneca*, whose penn
intreatinge matters graue,
I finde, amongst his learned workes,
this worthie tale to haue:—

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There was a kinge of highe renowne,
which iustice did vpholde.
to him, three sonns did nature give,
of courage feirce and bould.
To eche, the choice of birdes hee gaue, [leaf 10]
wherbye that hee might learne,
the severall humors of their minde
and manners to discerne.
The eldest, of his haughtie harte,
the Eagle prowd did chuse.
the second, of fiers disposition,
the hawke would not refuse.
The yongest, of a myleder minde,
the vulgar thrushe did take;
On whome the kinge bestowd his crowne,
and him his heire did make.
Iudge what the kinge ment by this guifte,
for I maye not disclose it.
And thow perhapps maie be deceived
in thinkinge for to glose it.

(12) Patience.

The patient *Socrates*, true mirror of our life,
whoe for the godds did yeald his heavenlie breth,
twoe vnkinde wives did nourishe foolishlie,—
the first was blinde, the other had bleare eyes,—
of whome, good mann, he badlie was intreated.
Not once, nor twice, but allwaies when they raged, [leaf 10, back]
the one would beastlie spurne him like a dogg;
the other would belabour him with her fists;
all which hee bare with vertuous patience.
with bitter words, but being fiercelie baited,
hee was enforct to leave the vnquiet howse;
whoe, going forth, did rest him at the dore,

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where long hee could not quiet sitt at ease,
but that these sprites, these furies fowle of hell,
did add more ill to former wickednes;
for as hee satt with calme and gentle minde,
they on his hed did lothed vrine cast,
and shrewdlie wett him to the tender skinne.
But hee, which made of this a Iestinge sport,
as well aquainted with such brain sick witts,
vsed not revenge, but smilinglie did saye,
that after thunder, Rayne did still descende;
for hee these wives did keepe, for to envre
his vertues rare, and patience to encrease.

---

(13) Liberalitie.

Why doe these virginns faire, the *Graces* three,
Ioues daughters, borne of *Eurinome* the brighte,
[leaf 11] On goddesse *Venus* waite in theire degree,
Since they from seed of heaven did take there lighte?
because from these the fruites of love proceed,
and loue is wonne by ech theire severall seed.

Their Rosiall faces, shap'd are after one,
as sister twinned, by reason ought to bee;
the twoe, allwaies the third doe looke vpon;
their youthfull age and bewtie doe agree:
Winged at feete they are; they naked stande,
ech halsing other with their cristall hande.

The first wherof, *Aglaia* is named,
and worthie place doth hould amongst the reste:
A peerlesse Ladie, in ech place well famed,
shining in honnor deepe harbored in her breste.
the next, *Thalia*, which meaneth, as some teache,
faire flower of youth, and elloquence of speach.

The third, which wee call the faire *Ephrosine*,
to her sisters in vertue not behinde,

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doth signifie (as learned menn define)
the pleasant mirth and frute of frendlie minde. 22
thus these *Charites*, these faire graces three,
the forme of love, and guiftes, presents to mee. 24

But why are they naked, without attyre? 25 [leaf 11, back]
because they showe the playnesse of the harte,
quite naked of decyte, and free from hire;
for in all guiftes, this Is the chefest parte, 28
that what we give, be donne with meere goodwill,
with simple and pure minde, devoid of ill. 30

Or ells because vnthankfull menn by kinde, 31
whoe naked are of curtesie and love,
Will naught bestowe, to shewe a gratefull minde;
besides all which, as wee continuallie prove, 34
the graces coffers are emptie and naked found;
for thankfull menn, with wealth cannot abound. 36

Whye are they virginns fayer, freshe, and bright? 37
for that therby wee covertlie are tould,
that of the frendlie guiftes receyvd, (by righte)
perpetuall memorie wee are bound to hould; 40
for, freshe in thankfull minde, wee must conceive
the deepe record of favours wee receive. 42

Why winged are their feete like mercurie? 43
because that, whoe doth guiftes or thanks impart,
must not deferr the same, but spedilie
performe the frute of his well willinge harte; 46 [leaf 12]
ffor hee gives twice, that quicklie and with speed
bestowes his guift to serve our present need. 48

Soe lovinglie, why are they Ioind in one? 49
ech one, in armes embracing of her mate;
and allwaies twoe, the third looking vpon?
It shewes, that frendes must live without debate, 52
that guiftes receyved, be paid with vsurie,
and that true frendes fayle not in miserie. 54

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(14) Vertue of Herbes.

Whilste prudent *Epidaure*, the learned leeche,
the sacred herbes in fertill soyle doth seche,
with stedfast eye caste on the vallies deepe,
a tall yonge ladd,—*which* kepte the fearfull sheepe,
adorned with crowne of herbes faire, freshe, and greene,
of straunge devise, most orient to be seene,—
This *Epidaure* beheld in greate despite,
with *Basiliske* to vse most cruell fighte;
which poysoning beaste, this manne (with *Mars* his blowe)
did prostrate on the ground, and overthrowe.
Then *Epidaure* (iudginge some vertue rare
within the garland *which* the heardman ware,)
[leaf 12, back] Drewe nere, and by faire wordes did frendlie crave,
that hee, of him this herbie Crowne might haue.
wherto the herdman yealded his consent,
and then a freshe to basiliske hee went,
with that feirce beaste, movinge new fight againe,
in *which* the sillie mann was easelie slaine.
which donne, the phisition begann to saye,
'within this bowe, most secret vertue laye;'
and with this garland freshe, in everie Ioynt
the bodie of deade herdmann did annoynt.
forthwith the mann (a thinge to all menn straunge)
began to live, and life for deathe did change.
Such vertues doth the power of god divine,
for our releife, to yearthlie herbes assigne;
wherbye wee maie from menn diseases take,
Recover health, and dangers great forsake.

---

(15) Wine.

ffayne wouldst thow know wherfore the god
last borne of Ioue his Thye,
Is winged on his hed, and whye
swifte *Pegase* standeth bye.

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And why the horse of true honnor [leaf 18]
conioyned is to *Bacchus*,
The following verse, the springe and cause
therof shall here discusse.
When people with *Amicla* did
the grapes to *Bacchus* bringe,
She said, 'faire Bacchus, I see winges
from out the hedd to springe;
Oh *Bacchus*, thow haste quivering winges,
and heares that crowned bee
with greene Ivye; let *Gorgon horse*
allwaies associate thee.
ffor *Bacchus* doth increase the blood,
and force to vs it lendes;
To melancholie harts, both mirth
and cooller freshe it sends.
It raiseth vpp dull mindes from Earth,
to enterprise great thinges;
It comforteth the weake sinnowes,
and strength to witt it bringes.
This doth the swifte *Pegasine* horse,
conioynd with *Bacchus* tell,
But yet to vse wine moderatelie,
for soe shall witt excell.'

---

(16) Mann.

[leaf 18, back]

Behould, mann is the litle world,
as *Gretiane* gaue him name,
And as the ould *Philosophers*
did signifie the same.
ffor as the Sunn and Moone, bright lights,
doe shine in azured *Skye*,
Soe hath the mann two sparkling eyes
which vnder forehedd lie.

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As goulden Sunn, with purple beames,
in morning freshe doth springe,
And going vnder *Thetis* bedd,
on world the shade doth bringe,
And soe doth rise and sett to vs,
as other plannetts all,
Soe mann by byrth doth rise and springe,
by death doth sett and fall.
The moving windes in skies that rowle,
both hott and colde are founde;
and in the mouth of breathing mann,
both colde and heate abound.
Our bones and members are the earth,
the ayre in Lunges doth swell,
[leaf 14] The mouth and brayne doe water holde,
the fire in hart doth dwell.
Thus mann is moyst, earthlie, and hott,
with water, earth, and fire,
Be three the noblest Elements,
which nature cann desire.
To infancie compared is
the spring, sweet, freshe, and gaye;
the pleasant sommer vnto Youth,
where strength and courage staie;
The ripenesse of manns firme estate
doth fruitfull Autumne holde;
As crooked Age well likned is
to winters frost and colde.

---

(17) Witt.

Nothing more smooth then artificiall glasse;
more brickle, yet there nothing maye be founde;
nothinge more white or fairer is on grounde
then congeald snowe, yet naught lesse firme can passe.
Soe, shining and fayre witts, in which abound

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Invention, quick conceit, and answering,
three cheefest thinges, true praise deservinge,
haue their desert, and most doe run awrye, 8 [leaf 14, back]
Since finest white doth soonest take all staines,
and finest witts are ficklest of their braines,
whose self-conceit ruynes them vtterlie;
much like the Bees, whose honnie breedes their paines 12
by surfetting theron Immoderatelie,
for, from her sweete, coms her perplexitie.
Thus these rich witts, which fondlie deeme
they all menn doe exceede, 16
By trusting to·themselves too much,
doe fayle themselves at neede.

---

(18) The subiect.

The statlie flower that faire rich *India* yeldes, 1
which goulden *Heliotropium* wee name,
the glorious *Marigolde* of fruitefull feildes,
the course of all his flowring time doth frame 4
after the light of *Phœbus* norishinge flame,
on which she waites with still attending eye,
windinge her self like sonne, circularlie. 7

Of which effect, the name she doth obtayne, 8
& *Heliotropium*, of sonne is calld.
ffor, when bright *Elios* with the fierie wayne, [leaf 15]
his fower feirce steedes in purple morne hath stalld, 11
Then this strange flower (with Sable night appalld)
spredds forth her golden lockes, but hides her face
when *Phebus* bedds, as fearing some disgrace 14

Thus doth this noble flower, her homage due, 15
paie to her Lord whome shee doth imitate,
Houldinge that waie which her doth still pursue;
whose pliant minde, to vs doth intimate, 18
that as this flower, by natures hidden fate

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doth followe still the turning course of Sunn,
wherin she pleasures till her life be donne,
So pliant subiects follow still,
whilst rulinge Prince doth live,
The good or badd examples which
his customd actions give.

(19) Diligence obtayneth Riches.

The simple Cock, that with a hungrie minde,
on sluttishe dunghill scrapte, in stedfast hope,
for his releefe, some feeding grayne to finde,
being forct to seeke within that litle scope
[leaf 15, back] to hym assigned by fortunes luckye lott,
a pretious Iewell for his paine hee gott;
which, though to him smale profitt it did give,
vnskillfull what the price therof mighte bee,
yet did it shewe the godds, for to releeve
the needie soule whome wee in labour see
turmoyle with swetting face, for to sustaine
his pore estate with such a luckie gaine.

(20) Vsurie.

The wealthie mann with blessings great indued,
raising his mightie halls to looke alofte,
whome never yet hath povertie pursued;
yf that his greedie minde be sett to ofte
to search for gaine, to fill his hungrie hart,
some froward chance the godds to him impart.
ffor a rich vsurer, which hordes of gould
entombed from some in armed chest dyd keepe,
not well content such heaped wealth to hould,
but vnderminding earth, did often creepe
in dungeons deepe, and mines of silver bright,
to rake for that which was his harts delight.

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But Iust *Pluto*, a Iudge of rightfull rede, 13 [leaf 16]
when as this mann had entred goulden Cave,
his due desert, that was for him decreed,
as Iuste revenge permitted him to haue, 16
for hee by clodd (er hee might that auoyde)
of fallinge earth, was suddenlie destroyd. 18

Thus doe the godds to such as they enrich, 19
when thanklesse persons allwaies will appeare;
for thoughe to daye they send never soe mich,
yet when they please, they can with frowning cheere 22
spoyle them from all, but moste where they doe see
vnsaciate mindes still griping for to bee. 24

(21) Myrtilus Sheilde.

The famous souldier, *Myrtilus* the Knighte,
whose conquering minde did never stoope to feare,
in manye conflictes the Garland Palme did beare,
as well on Land, as in the Maryne fighte, 4
such was his force, such was his warrlike might,
still savinge his life by his helpfull Sheilde,
both in the swelling Sea and bloodie feilde.
On Land his faithfull sheild did him defend 8 [leaf 16, back]
from dobled strokes of stronge revenging foes;
and in mercilesse Seas devouringe woes,
this sheild, from drowninge, him to shoare did sende,
and brought him safe vnto his Iourneis ende: 12
in all mishapps, at everie time of neede,
this worthie Sheild did allwaies stand in steede.
So, my good Lord, be you, I craue, to mee,
Mirtilus sheild, where soe my bodie bee. 16

(22) Vayne Ostentations.

Wee dailie see the fruitfull *Phœbus* fier, 1
how richlie it brings forth the wished-harvest,

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*wh*ich plenteouslie augments the owners hier,
one hundred foulde contentinge his request,
with his full eares still bending to the ground,
wherin greate store of grayne in tyme is found.

But bragg amongst the corne aspires proudlie,
on emptie eare lookinge aboue the reste,
advancinge his highe creste presumptuoualie
even to the starrs, as though he were the beste,
whoe, beinge lighte, and fruitlesse of all grayne,
for want of waight, showes all pride is vayne.

[leaf 17] Soe hee whome litle learninge doth commende,
is puft alofte with pride of highe conceite,
and deemes his witt maye with Minerve contende,
and scoole *Mercurie* with some queinte deceit;
but whoe that braggs, and deemes himself most learned,
most voide of art, by wise men is discernde;
Since he is allwaies somwhat, himself that nothinge deemes;
and he is nothinge found to be, himself that somwhat seemes.

(23) Losse of hurtfull thinges is gayne.

Producinge earth inrich'd, makes rich againe
the toylinge laborer hopinge fruitfull gayne;
but yf neglect, it vnmanurde growe,
corruptinge weedes and harmefull plants do flowe.
with wrootinge groyne, with feirce and warlike bore,
turnes vp and betters that bad lande before,
destroyeng those vnprofitable springes,
to frutefull land *wh*ich such annoyance bringes,
*wh*ich is not losse, but bettringe to the feilde,
more holsome frute then redie for to yeilde.
wherfore from thee, yf taken bee the thinge
*wh*ich needlesse is, and doth not profitt bringe,
[leaf 17, back] nor losse nor greife, let that be vnto thee,
for weedes pluck'd vp, hurt not the ground, wee see.

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(24) Internall vertues are best.

Sweet tasting aple, *wh*ich this faire virginn beares,
In cristall hand doth shine with pleasinge hewe,
for in th'externall forme, to eye appeares
a glistring cullor *wh*ich[1] doth delight renewe;
but vnder that thinne Coate, fayre nature hides
more gratefull frute, *wh*ich shee for mann provides.

Then thow, whome nature outwardlie hath graced
with comelie shape, externall forme to winne,
trust not therto; it wilbe soone defaced,
as of noe vse, like to the Aples skinn.
wherfore with vertue cloathe thy inwarde minde,
that th'outward shape therbye maye comfort fynde;
ffor what availes the gorgious showe
of Apples outward skynn,
Yf the internall frute conteyne
not pleasing taste therin?

[1] *MS.* with]

---

(25) Threates of the inferior to be contemned. [leaf 15]

The melitane dogge, bredd onlie for delight,
whose force is smale, though voice be lowde and shrill,
with often barkinge putts greate doggs to flighte,
incensd with rage, as though he would them kill.

Yet thoughe hee threaten with moste cruell voice,
leppinge and runninge in haste for to devoure
the bloodie mastife, it lies not in his choice,
as wanting both a naturall strength and power.

ffor those greate dogges *wh*ich flie not thence for feare,
contempne his threates, scorning revenge to seeke,
knowing the force and strength *wh*ich they do beare
is overmuch for him *wh*ich is so weake.

Soe hee whom strength and wisdome doth adorne,
the brawles and anger of the weake doth scorne,

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since all the power wherin they doe abound,
consiste in wordes, which vanishe with the sound. 16

[leaf 18, back]

(26) Philosophie.

Ioues sonne, the valiant *Hercules*,
whose worthye travayling peyne,
by his twelve labours, vnto him
immortall fame did geyne, 4
made this the best and last labour,
as glorie of them all,
That triple hedded *Cerberus*
hee made to bee his thrall, 8
The mightie cheyned porter of
The darke infernall hell,
where thinges obscure as dampned sprites
in darke oblivion dwell. 12
which inwardlie to vs vnfoulds
Philosophies triple kinde,
wherin doth rest the triple good
of our celestiall minde. 16
ffor as three hedds of *Cerberus*
doe from one boddie growe,
Soe from abstruse Philosophie,
three severall springs doe flowe: 20
Divine, humane, and naturall,
wherin consist the parts
[leaf 19] of heavenlie and terene creatures,
and of all learned artes, 24
which are not conquered without
great paynes of daye and night,
as *Hercules* by painfull toyle
brought *Cerberus* to light, 28
That sharpe labour beinge the last,
as cheefest and the best,
therin, all former labours of
the bodie for to reste. 32

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(27) Societie.

The purple Rose *which* first *Damasco* bredd, 1
adornd with cullor gratefull to the sight,
hath in it self a fragrant smells delight,
wherbye two sences of the mann is fedd. 4
thoughe other things to such faire shewe haue right,
yet maye they not equall this Rosie flower,
whose dayntie smell therin hath cheefest power. 7

Soe two faire dowries *which* mann doth enioye— 8
true perfecte love, and suer fidelitie—
firmelie preserve humane societie, [leaf 19, back]
their frends assisting in ech hard annoye, 11
when want of ech brings noe securitie;
both *which*, this damaske rose doth well vnfoulde,
as honest hart, *which* fayth and love doth houlde. 14

ffor as the rose, depriv'd of pleasing smell, 15
retayning yet the cullor for the eye,
or havinge smell, wanting righte bewtie,
is not a rose, for both in that must dwell, 18
or ells it cannot other flowers defie,—
soe our societie, without love and fayth
is never perfect, as true reason sayth;
ffor where is perfect love, there trustie fayth is found,
and where assured trust doth dwell, there love must
needs abound. 23

---

(28)

Counsell and vertue subdue deceipfull Persons.

The valiant knight whome *Perseus* wife did love, 1
whome she exilde for hee would not consent,
which tooke his name, as the effect doth prove,
of *Bellerus*, a prince to mischeife bent, 4
whose wicked deedes the *Corinthes* did susteyne
whilste over them his tyrannie did Raigne;—

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[leaf 30] ffor when his *Heroike* hand had *Beller* slayne,
he called was *Bellepheron* the worthie, 8
whose chefest glorie and fame *which* he did gayne,
was, when he slue *Chimera* valiantlie,
The *Lician* monster, that people *which* destroyed,
and the Sea coastes on everie side annoyed. 12

ffor *Bellepheron*, this *Chimer* (as he fledd) 13
pursued on *Pegasus*, the horse of fame,
(*which* of *Medusas slater* first was bredd,
for vertuous deedes doe breed immortall fame), 16
and him, with force of minde and warlike hand
did slea, for naught maye strength and witt withstand.

Soe you, my Lord, borne vp on *Pegas* wynge, 19
doe fill the Earth and ayre with worthie prayse;
your rare exploytes, *which* of your vertue springes,
on *Fames* horse are spredd abroad allwaies, 22
since you haue slayne, by great advice and skill,
those *English Chimers which* this land did fill. 24

---

(29) Pleasures to be eschewed.

ffonde *Paris*, in vnbridled age doth chuse 1
the life *which* seldom sorteth to good ende;
[leaf 30, back] ffor in yonge yeares, whoe vertue doth refuse,
and doth on fading pleasures still attende, 4
can neither witt, nor wealth, nor honnor, gayne,
nor happie life in worldlie cares attayne. 6

He chose *Venus*, *which* 'madnes' is expounded, 7
and 'wanton life of pleasures' doth expresse;
he left *Pallas*, on *which* is rightlie grounded
the contemplation of all perfectnes; 10
he scorn'd *Iuno*, *which* 'wealth' doth signifie,
with thactive life meane that to multiplie.
Then shonne delight, yf riches thow doe craue,
Or perfect wisdome thow do seeke to haue. 14

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(30) Vnitinge of Contraries make sound Iudgement.

Comforting *Ceres* Ioynd with hopps of bitter taste,
and faire waters, by art produce sweet liquors at the last,
not much inferior to *Bacchus* pleasant wyne,
as Emulus vnto that Ioyce w*hi*ch art doth well refine; 4
for the sharpe taste of hopps, the water and the corne
doe mittigate, and make that sweet, w*hi*ch bitter was
beforne: 6
w*hi*ch doth vs teach the waye, ech cause to handle well,
and howe in knotted difficults a Iudgement right to tell; [leaf 21]
for Ioyning contraries in peyse of equall weighte, 9
comparinge the effects of both, the truth appeareth straite,
So addinge hard to softe, and bitter to the sweete,
compounds a meane between them both, for Iudgment
allwaies meet. 12

---

(31) Reuenge.

Dianiane dogge, with blinde furie inflamed, 1
fearinge the hurled stone w*hi*ch him offended,
w*i*th sharpe and threatning teeth whollie inraged,
doth bite the stone, on that to be revenged, 4
Iudginge noe other thinge but that dead stone,
of that his hurt, to bee the cause alone. 6

w*hi*ch fonde revenge doth others mirth provoke, 7
vnto himself much greatur hurte increasinge,
for guiltlesse stone cann never feele the stroke,
allthough the dogg cease not his cruell bitinge. 10
wherbye wee learne, not rashe reveng to take,
of that w*hi*ch of it self noe hurt doth make;
ffor not the stone, but flinginge hande,
the iust revenge doth crave, 14
and actors, not the instruments,
due punishement should haue,

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[leaf 21, back] Since to our selves more further paynes
of greife wee shall procure,
yf rashe revenge, on guiltlesse cause,
wee striue to put in vre.

---

(32) Peace.

Pluto, the god of worldlie wealth,
which vnder yearth doth houlde
his goulden limittes and his bounds,
with manie hills of goulde,
there governs at his cursed will,
and goulden guiftes greate store,
with heaped Riches doth possesse
a thowsand fould and more.
vnder whose feete, *Bellona* lies,
still thirstinge after warrs,
a furious spoyler, and the cause
of all tumultuous Iarrs.
But fayre sweet *Peace* doth lead *Pluto*,
and draweth him with right hand,
And in lefte hand, *Amalthea*,
the fruitfull horne, doth stande;
ffor all thinges doe then flowe at large;
Bacchus and *Ceres* raigne;
[leaf 22] Then *Halcyon* daies, then quiet rest,
their triumphes doth retaine.
Then blodie *Mars*, cast to the grounde,
to peace doth yeald his sword;
but perfect peace descends from him
Which was his fathers worde,
And first appeasd the Angrie god
when hee, the loste mankinde
with peacefull concord, to our good,
for evermore did bynde.

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(33) Pouertie.

As fishe *Remora* staies the Shipp,
  which ells with prosperous wynde
Would sayle vnto the port of rest,
  sweete comfort for to finde,
Soe hated povertie, with greife
  of fortunes hard disgrace,
The Labors of the vertuous minde
  doth vtterlie deface:
ffor none soe noble vertue doth dwell in anie wight,
but want obscures it, forcing him to silence with dispight.

---

(34) Syluer worlde.

[leaf 22, back]

The sacred Crowne adorning curled hayre,
and christall hand welding the kinglie mace,
the mounting Eagle which *Ganimede* did beare,
are ensignes of the mightie Ioue his grace.
All which doe shewe the sylver world fore past,
when Cuntrey Swayne prepared the happie soyle,
and with his seede the Earth did overcaste,
which yoked oxe did teare vp with his toyle.
Before which tyme the fertyle earth gaue out
her blessed frute, thoughe she vntilled laye,
And *Saturne* grave, the world did rule about,
the goulden age which did to vs bewraye;
But when that *Ioue* begann his Silver raigne,
and had expelde his father from his lande,
the feildes were tylld with greate & sweating payne,
and Wearied Oxe and horse, did mourning stand.

---

(35) Enuye.

The mightie *Ioue* from highest heaven did sende
the fayer *Phœbus*, these gratefull newes to tell

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to wicked virginns, in vice which did excell,
this greate favour that hee to them would lende,
[leaf 23] That for herself, what anie one did crave
of him, her fellowe, duble that should haue.

fforthwith, the monster vilde of all mankinde,
which gnawes her harte, and teares our worthie fame,
stepte forth and said, '*Apollo*, graunt this same,
that I one eye maye loose! for soe I finde
my fellowe shall loose her twoe eyes and sight.'
all which she spake through envie and despight.

Thus fretting envie, Ioyeng in our payne,
pininge her self when good to vs doth growe,
and fatting fast when hurte or losse doth flowe,
in all mischeif findinge her chefest gayne,
of her own hurte, nothing doth force at all,
yf double that vnto her neighbour fall.

---

(36) Our terme or limit of life not remoueable.

ffrom neck it hath the humane shape,
the rest a piller stone:
Thus *Terminus* the god is made,
of all the godds alone;
[leaf 23, back] Whome, when the ruler of the starrs
beheld with scornefull face,
Hee willd him to depart the feilde,
and leaue to him the place.
But *Terminus*, all confident,
did bouldlie to him saye,
'I yeald to none': the septred Ioue
could not drive him awaye.
Hee standeth fixte, not to be moved,
whome wee cannot intreate
with price, nor prayer, with wordes, nor giftes,
nor yet with angrie threate.

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Soe are the fixed bonds which god
doth limit to our daies,
not to be changed or removed,
to lengthe them anie waies.

---

(37) God slowlie punisheth.

What doth the waightie millstone meane,
not turned by the wynde?
Of heavenly god it signifies
the nature and the kynde.

The father of celestiall sprites, [leaf 24]
of mortall menn the Kinge,
His thunder bolts doth rarelie shoote,
or lightnings downe doth flinge.

With slowe and stealinge pace, the wrath
of god doth on vs fall,
As one which gentlie doth expect
that wee for mercye call.

But when continnued patience
doth breake his former bande,
His anger is to furie turnd,
he strikes with heavie hande;

and with iust doblinge of the payne,
the grevous punishment
doth recompence the long delaye,
vnlesse wee doe repent.

ffor as millstone, once forct to turne
by rage of boystrous winde,
without regard, eche subiect thinge
doth into powder grynde,—

Soe clemencie of god, once broke
by our continuall sinne,
Doth vs torment with greater yre,
our sowles therbye to winne.

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[leaf 24, back]

(38) Dull witts.

The cheife of gods, the mightie *Ioue*,
conceived in his brayne,
And in newe sort did beare a childe,
yf Poets trulye fayne.

But when that wonderfull burthen,
to worlde he could not leaue,
The fierie god, the lame *Vulcan*,
with Axe his hed did cleave.

Then Armed *Pallas* lepped forth,
true wisdome by her kinde,
for not of fleshe doth wisdome growe,
but of the precious minde;

ffor triple power of heavenlie minde,
which in the brayne doth dwell,
doth make vs like the triple god,
in wisdome to excell.

Some kinde of men there are, whose witt
soe pore wee often see,
As, but with payne and longe dayes toyle,
naughte will engendered bee;

ffrom whome their wisdome must be drawen
(since they want learned speeche)
[leaf 25] As *Pallas* was from *Ioue* his hedd,
as doth this Embleme teache.

---

(39) The wretched not to be Doblie greiued.

The birde of *Ioue*, the Eagle of flight most free,
with manye bites, the naked hart doth teare,
of wretch *Prometheus*, hanging on the tree,
which for our skill doth this good lesson beare:
In this sorte not to vexe with doble greefe
A wretched mann deprived of releefe,

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But rather showld, with words of myledest kinde,
a plaister give, to cure his greevous wound;
for to the same, sweet pittie doth vs bynde,
Since in godds nature dailie that is found,
and his preeceptes, in tables graven in stone,
gives vs in charge, the wretched to be none.

ffor hee whose tender hart with pittie dighte
vnto the sicke doth reache his helpinge ayde,
and partner of the waight of burdened wighte
doth ease his payne when hee is overlayed,
Amongst the heavenlie Saints shall firmelie gayne [leaf 25, back]
A memorable name, still to remayne.

---

(40) Noe impuritie in heauen.

The blinded boye, *which* with his peircinge darts
and tender stroke, the heavenlie godds did wound,
felt greate delight to scorche their pliant harts,
since fellowe like amongst them he was found;
but when both sexes of gods did feele such blowe,
oft times greate warrs amongst themselvs did growe.

Then prudent *Ioue*, seinge that fyerie broyle
to rise by weapons *which* *Cupido* bare,
fearinge the godds would one annother spoyle,
the bowes and shaftes from *Cupids* backe he tare;
and with greate reason, for that boyes disgrace,
did throwe him downe from out that sacred place;

ffor the first father *which* hath made the skye
must keepe the heavenlie feilds most cleane & pure;
Soe *Lucifer*, the prowde, clyming on hye,
was caste from heaven, in hell for to indure;
for naught vncleane, as sacred letters tell,
in this most holie Cittie once may dwell.

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[leaf 26] (41) Honor and rewarde nourisheth artes.

Shewe mee, sweete muse, why thow and all the rest
which heavenlie spheres doe guide with harmonie,
were fostred vp with milke from Christall brest
of *Euphemen* distillinge plenteouslie.

Our nurce, her name doth well the same vnfold,
yf wiselie thow the sence therof dost knowe,
for *Euphemen*, none other thinge doth hould,
but this which from that greekishe man doth flowe.

Since *Euphemen* doth onelie signifie
good fame, good name, a good report & prayse,
true honour, due reward, and perfect glorie,
which nourishe Artes, and learned men allwaies.
ffor without that, who, learning would applie,
or weare himself with paine & miserie?

---

(42) Eloquence.

Some Learned menn affirme by abstruce skill
that *Proteus*, god and author of eche thinge,
[leaf 26, back] who into severall formes, at his owne will,
oft turnd him self, as did occasion springe,
exprest a man, which fullie could expounde
ech severall thinge which was in nature founde.

Some sayed he was a man of pretious witt,
and greatlie skilld in kinglie government;
for they which at the Helme of state doth sitt,
must see wherto their subiects most are bent,
and turne him self into eche severall minde,
yf calmed realme he wishe, or hope to finde.

But I this *Proteus* severall formes doe deeme,
the force of Eloquence for to vnfould;
for as he oft did make his shape to seeme
a beast, a fowle, greene earth, or water cowlde,

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Soe devyne Eloquence, mens mindes doth change,
Even as it lists, to like of thinges most straunge. 18

(43) Art cannot take awaye the vice of nature.

The healthfull bathe w*hi*ch daielie wee doe see
to cure the sores and fleshe of lothsome skinn,
cann never make the Negro white to bee,
or clense the harlot from her loathed sinne, 4
ffor such defaults as nature dothe committ [leaf 27]
in the outward shape w*hi*ch she doth vs impart,
or such defaults as growe by minde or witt
cannot be cured by anie outward art; 8
ffor though a time wee bridle natures strength,
She will break forth, and houlde her course at length.

(44) Fortune.

As goulden Sonne doth worke from out the Skye
divers effectes, and those exceedinge straunge,
Soe wandringe fortune, by incertaintie,
workes her effectes with sundrie kindes of change. 4

ffor somm she doth oppresse with miserie,
ffrom dunghill, raysinge some to heapes of gould
Some she castes downe from great nobilitie,
and makes a clowne a noble place to hould. 8

Shee gives Kingdomes, shee takes them backe againe,
her wheele still turnes, not havinge anie staye;
she subvertes all, even as she please to fayne;
and as with ball, soe with the world doth playe. 12
In honnors Chaire, then see that thow sitt faste,
Least with her checke shee mate thee at the laste. 14

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(45) Ganymede.

[leaf 27, back] Yea, impure mindes whom vncleane lusts defile 1
against the rightfull course of natures kinde,
which perverslie your pleasant witts beguile,
with Ioue his loue, which Ganymede did finde, 4
deme that sweet fayre which forct the godds to love,
was sacred, and noe common lust did prove. 6

which Ganimede his name doth well expresse; 7
for that, a prudent mann, doth signifie,
who doth his minde to Heavenlie things addresse,
and flies to Heaven by livinge vertuouslie, 10
then which, on earth, nought cann be fairer founde,
causinge goddes love to vs for to abounde. 12
Then with true wisdome see
godds favour thow deserve,
In goulden cupp, with heavenlie drinke
of Nectar, him to serve. 16

---

(46) Eloquent wisdome.

The talking byrd, which gloriously is cladd 1
By natures guise in robe of *Emeraud* greene,
[leaf 28] And *Tyryan* feathers gorgious to be seene,
with humane tongue and voice which art doth add, 4
of eloquent mann the worthie Tipe is hadd,
Such one as Tullie sayes he never found,
thoughe in sweet speech learn'd oratours abounde. 7

The Sea *Tortoys*, his howse which beares on back, 8
foure footed, shell clothed, and of fearefull sounde,
short hedded, Snake necked, without bowells fownde,
of hideous sight, and which warm blood doth lack, 11
whose Armor naught can peirce, of pase most slack,
true wisdomes signe doth vnto vs present,
And stayed minde to perfect wisdome bent. 14

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Our Parrot then, vpon this Tortoys plac'de,
to vs doth note, by *Egiptian* misterie,
the sound effect of wisdomes veritie,
with *Mercuries* flowing tongue most swetelie grac'd,
which Ioynd in one, can never be defac'd;
wherof a truer mirror none maye knowe
then you, in whome such famous guiftes doe flowe:
Then live in hapie health,
since *Mercuries* worthie Arte,
And learn'd *Mineruas* skill,
doth harbour in your harte.

---

(47) Poetrye.

[leaf 23, back]

The artificiall Scale composd of gould,
the shyning mettall to *Phebus* consecrate,
doth fayre imprint the figure he doth hould
in plyant waxe, to secrecie dedicate;
that wax, transforming to his forme aright,
a gladsome pleasure to a Curious sight.
And golden Poet fedd with *Appollos* muse,
by his *Emphatick* verse of heavenlie kinde,
such charming power in reader doth infuse,
and grave such passions in his pliant mynde,
that he is metamorphos'd with delight
into the autors secret thoughts and sprighte;
ffor why, such enargye and life
doth in learn'd verse abound,
That sence, and witt, and hart, it doth
both ravishe and confounde.

---

(48) Ensignes of the Clergye.

Thow doest demaund of me,
why this right hand doth houlde

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the slipperie Ele, w*hi*ch turnes himself
in circle manifoulde;
[leaf 29] And whye the guelye arme
in midst of Sheild is placed,
Of Asured cullour, whose bright shine
the firmament hath graced.
The blewishe Scuttchion doth present
the vawted Skye,
Deenotinge that the spirituall man
should love the things on hye.
The reddishe cullor doth declare
the modest shame
which in his countenance should dwell,
a vertuous life to frame.
The Ele prest with the hand,
doth teach him to refrayne
His lipps and tongue from vttring wordes
deceiptfull, false, or vayne.
This must the learned Clarke
allwaies record in mynde,
yf of Saluation, care he haue,
or comfort hope to finde;
ffor as the slipprye Ele
not prest, doth slide awaye,
So doth the slipprye tongue, the thoughts
of inward minde bewraye.
[leaf 29, back] The white cullor of Ele
declares that all his deedes
Should be white, pure, and Innocent,
w*hi*ch from his hart proceedes.
Thus yf he frame his life,
imbraced still is hee
Of godd and of the world, to w*hi*ch
he shall example bee.

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(49) Flatterers.

There is a kinde of men, whome hell hath bredd,
Deceit hath nourc'd, and doble speech hath fedd;
naked of vertue, and impudent of face,
abhord of all, exilde from everie place,
ffalse flatterers nam'd, themselves which change
to every fashion, though never soe strange.
These doth the fishe *Polipus* represent,
in his conditions which be impudent,
Turning his cullor to everie kinde of Hue,
of everie obiect offerd to his viewe,
wherbye he maye, with bayt of cloked change,
deceyve the fishe which in the deepe do range,
Therbye more lightlie for to winn his praye, [leaf 30]
to gorge his gluttenous mawe with foode allwaye.
Soe the false Parisites themselves doe wynde
to divers formes, as tyme and place they fynde,
Changinge themselves to ech mans severall vayne,
foode, wealth, or clothinge, therbye to attayne,
Deceyvinge such as in them put their trust,
paynelesse to serve their Hungrye mawe & lust,
and without labour to releeve their need,
worse then the Crowes on carrion which doe feed,
for they, dead bodies onlie doe devoure,
when these, the livinge doe consume ech hower.

---

(50) Our betters or enemies not to be prouoked with wordes.

Strymonian Cranes, which by their ayerie flight
preserv'd the wise *Deucalion* from the flood,
are taught by natures beneficiall lighte
to seek helping art for their better good;
for which, when they crosse frozen *Taurus* hill,
ech one, a stone doth carrie in his bill,

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wherby they stopp the lowde voice of their crye,
leaste when they passe that huge and ragged mounteyne,
[leaf 30, back] The Queene of birdes, their foe, should them discrie,
and their voyce make them praye to Iove his swayne;
but having overgone that dangerous place,
they leave those stones, and forth direct their pace.

Soe men, whome art and nature doth adorne,
should silent be, for feare of followinge hate,
and not with wordes, their betters for to scorne,
or ells their foes by tongue to Irritate.
for gentle speech, or silence, at the length
doth swage or keepe vs from our Ennemies strength,
which over pas'd, wee maie with courage bould
keepe on the course of life wee meane to hould.

(51) Wisdome and Strength are to be Ioyned.

Doe tell, rude verse, why that pure virginn fayre,
borne of *Ioues* brayne by helpe of *Vulcans* skill,
came armed forth into the Shining ayre,
not borne of Humane fleshe by natures will,
but whole begott of heavenlie seede and light,
being *Pallas* and *Minerua* call'd by right.
[leaf 31] It shewes that wisdome doth from good discend,
not borne of fleshe, nor bredd of Earthlie kinde.
that shee came armed forth, it doth pretende
that wisdome without strength is but a wynde;
and strength without wisdome, subversion brings,
but Ioyn'd in one, doe conquer hardest thinges.

(52) The meane.

The *Daulian Philomell*, whose warblinge voice
descants the musick of natures sweete delight,
in her self notes soe greatlie doth reioyce,
that with the same she putts her life to flight,

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soe swetelie yealdes this nightingale her sprite;
And vegitive plantes, watered with the meane,
doe springe; but overmuch, doe wither cleane. 7

Soe the excesse in everie Earthlie thinge, 8
and the extreame in everie fadinge kinde,
vncured hurt vnto it self doth bringe,
and extreame greife vnloked for doth finde; 11
ffor learned *Flaccus* putts vs still in minde
that witt is follie, and right iniustice named,
and vertue vice, beyond the meane once framed. 14

(53) Not to climbe ouer highe.

[leaf 31, back]

Bellerephon, which ruld without offence,
whome fretting envie could not make to yealde,
nor *Pretus* wife to incest could incense,
nor triple monster force to flie the feilde, 4

Did once ascend to his immortall fame,
the horse of honnor stabled in the skye;
but not of power, that vntam'd beaste to tame,
hedlonge is throwne to ground most worthilie. 8

Then thow which doste highe dignities attayne,
and clothed art with honnors purple gowne,
aspire not higher, least to thy bitter payne,
with extreame shame thow hedlonge tumble downe, 12
By fall, pervertinge former good
for which thow hast byn praysed,
And blemishing those worthie partes
which thee to honnor raysed. 16

(54) Monument of a harlott.

Whose tombe is this? whose bones doth this contayne?
the *Ephereian Lais* here doth lie,
whose peerelesse bewtie, wanton *Greece* did stayne [leaf 32]
with her highe prys'd excessive Lecherie; 4

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but wo, alas! sham'd not their destinie
to cut her fatall thred *which* was soe faire,
to whome to *Corinth* all men did repayre. 7

No, she was with crooked age foreworne, 8
her frowinced face her bewtie had defac'd,
And like a woman *which* weare all forlorne,
and that of *Venus* nowe noe more was grac'd, 11
her christall glasse on *Venus* wall she placed,
as lothinge in that mirror for to prye,
her wrinkled eyes and cheekes for to espie. 14

Vppon whose curious tombe, engraven by skill, 15
did stand a feirce and cruell Lyonesse,
which did the simple Ram, even at her will,
hould by the Loynes with clawes of bludinesse; 18
which vnto vs this morrall did expresse,
that by the Loynes she still did hould and keepe
her fonde lovers, as Lyonesse doth the Sheepe. 21

[leaf 32, back]

(55) Earthlie mindes.

The statelie Stagg, whose hornes threaten the skye, 1
is sencelesse dombe, not hearinge anie sounde
of hungrie dogges that seekes him eagerlie,
or hunters voice *which* doth in woodes rebounde, 4
whilst hee with grynding teeth feedes on the ground,
except he first his hed from Earth erect,
wherby the hearinge sence maye them detect. 7

Soe mortall men, full fraught with worldlie toyes, 8
whose earthlie mynde, howsd in such brutish wight,
(beastlie feeding on fleshlie fadinge Ioyes,)
cannot conceive the words of heavenlie spright, 11
nor heare the gladsome voice of heavens delight,
Leaste to the skye his hanging hed he raise,
from earth of Sinn, and sowles corrupting waies. 14

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(56) The olde Testament.

The Oke, bearing a corne, *Ioues* sacred tree,
which, to wise *Greekes*, the *Oracles* did lend;
the Ayerye spredding beech, whose arms wee see,
frise clothed frut vnto the world doth sende;
In former Ages, and Earths infancie, [leaf 33]
when eche Creature to natures lawe did bend,
with their swete nourishing mast fedd plenteouslie
our Auncient Syres, of other food deprived;
But wee, through Goddesse *Ceres* helpe revived,
comforting corne for Sustenance obteyne,
A pleasant foode, more exellent by kinde.
Soe nowe these trees noe needfull vse doe gayne,
but that to shade and buildinges they are sign'd,
which Moses lawe to vs doth signifie,
that was but mast, as stifneckd Iewes maye finde,
and shaddowes of the followinge veritie;
for nowe the immortall sonne of deitie,
Our *Sauiour Christ*, the autor of all good,
with rare bountie doth give abundantlie
his heavenlie corne to bee our dailie food;
wherbye wee leaue that mast and Iewish meate,
and hould that elder lawe confirm'd by blood
of beastes, and which but shaddowes doth repeate,
as figures onelie of Christes healthfull lore,
which is the perfect meate, whose signe the Iewes did eate before.

---

(57) Sophistrie. [leaf 33, back]

Saturns daughter, and *Ioue* his Iealious wife,
Queene of Riches, pleasure of this life,
the angrie *Iuno* by her queint device,
self loving *Syrens* falslye did intyce
in songe with the sweete muses to contend.
these *Syrens* were, as autors doe pretend,

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faire virgings, which in squamous fishe did end,
and fishe with virgins faces forth did send:
Wemen lacking natures feete of righte,
and fethered fowles wanting winges for flight,
which, though nature denye soe to combyne,
yet were they such as wee do here defyne,
conteyned in the holie number three,
whose names, significant are knowen to bee:
Parthenos virginn, with sweete *Ligia*,
and the most daintie white *Leucosia*,
who doth in false bewitching tunes excell,
wherby they sacred muses did compell
with them to singe, victorious crowne to gayne;
which learned muses did at first disdayne,
all though at length they yealded full consent,
and to their witlesse challeng did relent;
[leaf 34] when with their shrill and most celestiall sound,
those prowde *Syrens* they easilie did confound,
by iustice lawe; for whoe maye well compare
the muses musick naturall and rare,
to the deceitfull Captious *Syrens* skill,
with which they all lascivious eares doe fill?
The muses then, full victors in the feilde,
vnplum'd those Syrens whome they forct to yeald,
and from them all their glorious fethers take,
wherof triumphant crownes they dulie make;
which *mithologians* thus doe moralize:
the muses, note the doctrine of the wise,
and perfect wisdome, which victoriouslie
triumphes on crag'd deceitfull Sophistrie,
which by false *Syrens* we doe signifie.
for what ells doe their fethers notifie,
but foolishe words, wanting true reasons ground,
which light, like fethers toste in wynde, are founde?
these doth true wisdome overthrowe in Scorne,
and with faire crowne therof, her hedd adorne.

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(58) Ingratitude.

The stam'ringe Cuckooe, whose lewd voice doth greeve 1
the daintie eares with her fowle note dismay'd,
In the *Currucas* neste doth her releeve, [leaf 34, back]
Suckinge the Egges *which* that heysuge hath laid; 4
in lue wherof, her owne egg she doth leave,
wherbye she doth the gentle bird deceyve. 6

Which that simple heysuge findinge in place 7
(pore sillie foole, not knowinge of this guile),
doth lovinglie nourishe with moothers grace,
hatchinge those Egges that did her bed defile, 10
by dailie food them fostring, as they were
of her owne kinde, and her true forme did beare. 12

But these vile bastards, as they growe in strength, 13
and fethered are with winges of trecherie,
their nource and moother doe assault at length,
with thankles mouth tearing her cruellie, 16
till peecemeale they devoure ech severall part,
and suck the blood of their dames loving hart. 18

Soe, wicked menn, the bastards of mankinde, 19
whome neither love nor reasonn cann alure,
whome others great rewards, to them should bynde,
because their life is nourished by their cure, 22
Acteons curres, and thanklesse menn doe prove,
wounding their patrons whome they ought to loue. 24

---

(59) Children in youth to be framed. [leaf 35]

In yongest yeares, when will and strength doe want, 1
doe frame the child like to the growinge plant,
which yonge and tender thow maist wrye and bende
vnto what forme thy fancie shall intende; 4
but once a tree, and growen to height of strength,
noe force cann make him bowe or bend at length. 6

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(60) Of the same.

As tender whelpe, whome natures skill hath taught
by her instinct to hunt and chuse the game,
to his perfection never yet is broughte,
nor for to doe his maisters will can frame,
till first his tutor, crosse his necke doe tye
a litle bat, to frame his whelpe therbye.

ffor that Invres and teacheth him, to beare
the Yoke in youth, *which* age would not Indure,
and doth compell him to obedient feare,
which in his age he never should procure.
in youth then, hange about the child his neck
the staffe of feare, his stubbornes to check;
Soe he shall learne, in age for to obaye,
[leaf 35, back] In youth that first was taught the readie waye.

---

(61) Benefitts.

The silver Moone, *Diana* Virgine bright,
on mortall creatours powred her moystening light,
wherwith she doth adorne the Sable nighte,
whose sleepinge mantle dimms the peircinge sight;
which gladsome shine she takes abundantlie
from her beloved spowse, who favourablie
doth spredd his goulden beames most liberallie
on that faire *Phebes* full of curtesie.
Thus, like the liberall moone, wee should bestowe
the bennefitts *which* from highe *Ioue* doe flowe
vnto vs mortall creatures here belowe,
vpon our neighbours, whome wee needie knowe,
ffor soe the beneficiall heavens
doe teach vs by their kynde,
whose comfortable vertues, wee
doe by their influence finde.

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(62) Prodigalitie.

[leaf 36]

The craftie ffox, with longe and bushye tayle,
doth allwaies clense and sweepe the durtie soyle,
wherat the mockinge Ape begann to Rayle,
for that his heavie tayle was clogging toyle
and in his chase did put him oft to foyle,
when he was quick, and nimblie, clym'd ech tree,
as being taylesse, lighter for to bee.

But scoffers must rescoffed be againe;
for subtile fox, with answer soone replied,
and rightlie said it was noe heavie payne
to beare those thinges which nature did provide,
our open shame, and fowle mishapes, to hyde;
for better was, to cover secretlie
the hinder partes, then shewe them lothsomlie.

Thus did the foxe the truer cause defende,
since much better are superfluities
which vs adorne, and profitt doe pretende,
then want of thinges to hide deformities.
So prodigall men, with their extremities,
ffarr better are in spending lavishlie,
then he that wants to serve necessitie.

And witlesse vnthriftes, which
superfluouslie do spende,
Doe much more good then such
as hordinge do attende.

[leaf 36, back]

---

(63) To mr Thomas Valence.

My Valence, to thy learned vewe
this skillesse vers I sende,
the fruit of my well wishing hart,
and guifte of faythfull frende;
doe take it with like lovinge minde,
to aunswer my desart,

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whome frowninge fortune hath denied
a better to imparte.
The frutefull bough of sacred Olive,
the braunch of peacefull tree,
the leaves of oylie healthful frute
that allwaies greene wilbe;
Which never lose their naturall shewe,
whose leaves doe never fall,
ffor which the *Romans* in lesse triumphes
were crowned therwithall,
[leaf 87] As were the troopes of valiant knightes,
because this holie tree,
To warlike *Pallas* consecrate
ys allwaies found to bee;
vpon which sacred florishinge bough
I offer to thine eyes
A gentle Swarme of Wittie Bees
and honnie bearinge flies,
By which, as former learned menn
did vnto vs present,
Prosperitie of dailie health,
and minde to quiet bent;
So by the same I wishe to thee
like health and quiet minde,
with good successe, wherby thow mayest
perpetuall comfort finde;
Like Olive never to decaye,
but allwaies freshe to springe,
In peace of minde, in peace of tyme,
Eternall peace to bringe;
ffor yf we warr within our selves,
distract with everie thought,
Desired health doth still decaye,
Sicknes is dailie wrought.
[leaf 87, back] Then to this peace and quiet rest
is Ioyn'd sweete nutriment,

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ffor whoe delights in bitter foode,
to shorter life is bent;
ffor that our Auncient fathers ment,
by addinge to this tree
Dedalan bees, bright *Phebus* babes,
which good phisitions bee.
Since from the Olive, oyle distills,
the Bees sweet honie give,
both which, the weake and feble parts
with comfort do releeve.
'And who, longe life,' saies *Democrite*,
'would winne for payne and toyle,
must moyst his inward parts with honnie,
and outward parts with oyle.'
So shall continuall prosperous health,
longe life for vs obtayne,
which as before, soe nowe to thee,
I freindlie wishe againe.

---

(64) Strangers more freindlie to vs then our owne kinde and kindred.

[leaf 38]

My loved frend, and lovinge therwithall,
the same even nowe which former tymes did finde,
against true freindshipps bande, howe maye it fall
that I should shewe my self soe farr vnkinde,
as to lett slipp our frendship out of minde?
wherfore this Embleme, which I frendlie ment,
take with like love as I the same present.

The pretie youth, *Telemachus* the fayre,
the pledge most deere to *Vlisses* eloquent,
and chaste *Penelope*, which with despaire
did feed her hungrie sutors hote intent,
and never would to theire desire relent,
did fall from crooked shore, sitting at ease,
into the raveninge wombe of raging Seas.

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fforthwith, full fraught with love and pietie,
the *Arionian Dolphins* were at hand,
whose gentle barks receyv'd him lovinglie,
and from the deepe restored him to land,
Savinge his life; wherbye wee vnderstand,
That straungers to our kinde and to our bloode,
then our owne kinde and kinn, do vs more good,
[leaf 38, back] And that th' vntamed Seas
breed fishe of better kinde,
Then pleasant Earth doth yealde
vs menn of lovinge minde.

[*Leaf* 39 *is blank, both sides.*]

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[Epigrams.]

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Epigramms. [leaf 40]

(1) The Armes of England.

The sacred Lyon of *Iudeas* princelie lyne,
which weldes the scepter of the glorious skye,
of *Iesses* roote the flowers most divine,
whose heavenlie smell feedes our mortallitie,
protect (moste worthie Queene) from all annoye
Thy Realme, thy Lyons, and thy flowers of Ioye.

(2) Crisopeia.

My dolefull muse, bewayle in mournefull rimes,
with sighinge penn, with Inke of deepe lament,
the bitter galls of our vnhappie times,
and pore estate of those to vertue bent;
for he whome vertue hath to honnor raised,
treades downe all those *which* are for vertue praised.

O Sea of sorrowe! wherin wee sayle *with* greife,
O gulfe of greife! wherin wee drowne with payne,
since vertue cannot finde her due releeife,
but to faire *Crisopeia* shee retayne,
whoe sotts him soe with her bewitchinge sight, [leaf 40, back]
that but she speake, vertue doth loose her right.

Ye noble mindes, reiect *your* worthie partes,
let valour sleepe, *your* Heroike deedes will fayle;
ye sacred witts with *your* celestiall artes,
despise ech muse, science will not prevaile;
ffor neither *Mars*, nor sweet *Mineruas* quill,
cann reape reward in his longe practised skill.

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Then woe to vertue! woe our miscreant daies!
thrice woe to them whome vertue doth adorne!
faire *Crisopeia* with her goulden Rayes,
ech wight of worth doth taunt with bitinge scorne,
for vertue looseth what she well deserveth,
hee onelie gaines, who *Crisopeia* serueth.

without her bewtie, none maie favour praye;
without her meane, all labour is in vaine;
vertue, stand back, vnles shee make the waie;
valour and learninge, give place vnto her trayne.
thus, muse, far well thow seest thy fatall ende,
faire *Crisopeia* will not bee thy frende.

[leaf 41]

(3) Vpon the armed Statue of Venus.

ffayre *Venus*, tell whye dost thow Armor beare,
and cloggs thy self with heavie Coate of Steele;
thow art not *Mars*, thoughe his attire thow weare,
nor warlick broyles thow ever yet didst feele;
sweet speech, good lookes, allurements of delight,
are weapons servinge better for thy fight.

In vaine, therfore, thus feircelie art thow armed,
for natures harnesse best beseemes thy kinde;
with blowdie weapons why shouldest thow be charmed,
wherin small comfort thow dost ever finde?
for naked and vnarm'd, with bewties sheilde
thow madest the god of battell for to yeilde.

---

(4) Sundrie and strange effectes of wyne.

The drunken menn, whome gluttonie doth fill
with wynes excesse, doe sundrie passions houlde:
the one lookes highe, and will not be controlde;
one other singes with loftie voice and shrill;

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one other mournes, shedding teares manifolde ;
with blasphemie, some one his sowle doth kill. 6

Somme one, with stretched hands to god doth praye ; [leaf 41, back]
one, as his humor is, seekes peace to make ; 8
one other, noe man for his frend doth take ;
one nimblie dances, or ells doth skipp and playe ;
somme, verses write, for their swete Ladies sake,
and summ for hast doe often loose their waye. 12

Summ cannot speake, sum stammer at ech worde, 13
summ whoope and hallowe, and braye with open throte ;
summ, filthie talke doe vse in bawdries note ;
one doth dispute till hee laye vnder borde ; 16
mongst brambells summ runn, till they teare there coate,
summ frett and fume, and naught but blowes afford. 18

One falls to Lecherous actes, like beaste, past shame ;
annother cannot hould himself from sleepe ;
summ other rowles his eyes like mased sheepe ;
summ finde greate faultes, and others moe doe blame ; 22
somme, for his life cannot his counsell keepe,
and somm backbite all others with defame. 24

One, as he goeth, endenteth with his feete ; 25
one gapes and yawnes, stretchinge his slothfull arme ;
one thinkes he is a witch, and straight doth charme ;
one other scoffes at ech whome he doth meete ; 28
one other spues out right, but thinkes noe harme ; [leaf 42]
and some therebye with death and sicknes meete. 30

which severall force, in wyne is never founde, 31
for simplie of it self it works noe ill,
but shewes what humors doth the person fill,
and what conceites doe in his braines abounde 34
yf hee doe gorge it in at his owne will,
vntemperatlie his sences for to wounde.
Then yf thy self thow wilt not once bewraye,
Shonn wynes excesse, which takes thy witts awaye. 38

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(5) Contemninge.

Whoe doeth contempne the worlds fond vanitie,
whoe doth contempne that fleshly part of his,
whoe doth contempne no man in miserie,
and doth contempne that hee contempned is:
by these contemptes shall make himself regarded,
and at the last with heavenlie Ioyes rewarded.

whoe doth contempne religion and her sawes,
whoe doth contempne correction of his will,
whoe doth contempne the prince, the crowne, the lawes,
[leaf 42, back] and doth contempne the helpe of learned skill:
by these contemptes, to his reproche doth gaine
hate, shame, and greife, with everlastinge payne.

---

(6) What maketh menn forgett themselues.

Alluring bewtie, with her cristall face,
the heate of youth enflaminge loftie minde,
the favour of the people, and their grace,
the greate presumption of the strength wee find,
the store of wealth, the pride of hawtie harte,
and swelling skill of learning and of arte,

The Princes love (protecting of our will),
the stubborne furie of disturbed brayne,
eager desire for to revenge our will,
and fretting envie with scornefull disdaine,
makes vs forgett our selves, and takes awaye
sweet reasons vse, our onelie helpe & staye.

---

(7) Thinges not to be recalled.

The stone once cast out of the hand or slinge,
the tyme once past consuming everie thinge,
[leaf 43] the foolishe wordes which throughe the lipps doe flie,
the broken *Hymen* of virginitie,

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by witt, by art, by pleasure, or by paine,
cannot returne, or ells be calld againe.
then well foresee, before thy hand doe ought,
spend not the goulden tyme on things of naught,
premeditate before thow speake in haste,
doe keepe thy bodie allwaies cleane and chaste;
Soe shalt thow live free from the worlds distresse,
and in thy self thy self full well possesse.

(8) The vnapt not to be forced to learninge.

To *Salamanca* yf thow send an Asse,
to *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, *Paris*, or dowaye, [Douai]
or that by travell to farthest lands hee passe,
or in the princes Court longe tyme doe staye:
yf, when he went, he were an Asse, noe art
will make him horse, for felde, for waie, for cart.

Then spare your cost, yf nature give not witt,
to send your sonns vnto the learned scooles,
for to the same, yf nature make not fitt,
doe what you cann, they still shall prove but fooles;
then tourne ech witt to that which nature will, [leaf 43, back]
els fondlie thow thy sonne and cost dost spill.

(9) The waye to gett and keepe frendes.

ffyne witts, much art, sweet tongues, and flatterie,
doe gaine and keepe vs frendes, as some men saye;
but these are vaine, as proofe doth testifie,
without large giftes, which makes the readie waye;
for though that *Homer* come with learned hande,
yf naught he give, without dores maie he stande.

This then must be the surest grounde, I finde,
to winn and hould such frends as wee desire:

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first give thow much, be plyant to their minde,
take naught of others, fewe thinges doe thow require,
which if with heed thow wiselie dost retayne,
a heape of frends thow worthilie shalt gayne.

Wee all doe love to take, as *Ioue* doth teach,
which dailie guiftes and sacrifice doth crave;
Nonn loue to give, but such as cannot reach
the full effect of that which they would haue;
trust *Ouid* then, whoe spake what he did knowe:
it shewes great witt, large giftes for to bestowe.

[leaf 44]

(10) Of Stumblinge.

The prowde horse that treades with statelie pace,
and champes his foming mouth on goulden bitt,
adorn'd with curious trapping and pleasant grace,
of his braue looke his humor for to fitt,
with his fower feet, when hee doth prance and playe,
stumbles and falls in Iourneyeng of the waye.

What marvayle then, though worldlie men and proude,
adorn'd with sacred reason of the minde,
In whome the heavens and earth themselves doe shrowd,
with his twoo feet, as nature hath assign'd,
In Iournyeng to the place of heavenlie Ioye,
doth fall and stumble, through the worlds annoye!

---

(11) First guestes at a feaste.

The buzzinge flye which falls in everie thinge,
the meger dogg that hopes to gorge his mawe,
the wandring mynstrell, redie for to singe,
the roaging beggar living without lawe,
the Parasite smell-feast, which newes doth bringe,
and cares not whome his flattring tongue doth stinge,
[leaf 44, back] allthough vnbidd, like vnto shameles beastes,
with hast come first vnto all solempne feastes.

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(12) When a wife is badd, worse, and worst. When she is good, better, and beste.

My frend, yf that my Iudgement do not fayle, 1
as one well taught by longe experience skill,
thy wife allwaies is but a needefull ill,
and beste is bad, thoughe faire she beare her saile, 4
but vs'd not well, she worser is to thee,
but worst of all when best she seemes to bee. 6

Thy wife is good when shee forsakes this light, 7
and yealdes by force to natures destinie,
she better is (thowe livinge) yf she die,
but best when shee doth soonest take her flight, 10
for soe to thee thine ease shee doth restore,
which soonest hadd, doth comforte thee the more. 12

---

(13) A Puritane.

Dame *Lais* is a puritane by religion, 1
Impure in her deedes, though puer in her talke,
And therefore a puritane by condition, 3 [leaf 45]
or pluritane, which after manie doth walke;
for pruritie of wemenn, by lecherous direction,
seekes pluritie of men to worke satisfaction. 6

---

(14) Of heauie and light.

Philosophers were fooles, that taught of ould 1
that naught cann worke his natures contrarie,
Since experience (best proofe) hath them controld, 3
that heavie makes light, and light makes heavie;
for a light purse makes a heavie harte, wee finde,
and heavie purse doth make light hart and minde. 6

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(15) Waterhowse.

With milder sport, and not with bitter speech,
licence me here with thee somewhat to playe.
doe take it well, I frendlie thee beesech,
I thinke but mirth what soe my penn bewraye,
not meaning the t'offend in anie waye,
vpon thy name, allthough my penn do straye.
for since with *Bacchus* Iuice thine inward part
is dailie moystened, for thine owne delighte,
[leaf 45, back] and that the blood of Earth revives thy hart,
clensinge thy sowles howse both daie and night,
thow rather 'wynehowse,' for thy livelie spright,
then 'waterhowse,' shouldst termed be of right.

---

(16) A preist which knewe not anie letter.

Good zealous preist, thy hart more than thy skill,
thy zeale more than thy learning or thy witt,
the sacred eares of mightie *Ioue* must fill,
or ells for god thow wilt be nothing fitt.
Of holie Pawle, yet thow the heavenlie voice
cannst ringe alowd, and sound this sentence true,
'the Letter kills,' wherby thow maiest reioyce,
that of one Letter the forme thow never knewe.
ffor least that this deade letter should thee kill,
thow didst beware the letters for to learne,
and that aptlie, since of godds holie will
the quickning spirrit thow never couldst deserne.

[leaf 46]

(17) The hedd and the tayle.

Great was the glorious fame, most worthie knight,
stout *Perseus*, when with thy warlike knife
thow strakest of the monsters hedd, in sighte
of vglie *Gorgon*, then bereav'd of life;
but farr more famous should haue byn thy glorie
yf thow hadst cutt of the tayles of the Clergie.

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(18) Cause of a deere yeare.

Thow fondlie askest me, as though I were a god,
what causeth this continued dearth, and plague of Iove his rod.
yf I the truth maie tell, although it purchase blame,
I will not spare to speake my thought, but yet to thy defame:
Th'inseasonable yeare, this dearth doth not procure,
nor the discurtesie of heaven, which thus wee doe Indure,
nor *Saturns* cursed starr, nor barraynesse of land,
nor want of heedie carefullnes of things wee haue in hand,
nor *Ioue* his iust anger powr'd out on mortall wightes
for these our manie heaped sinns, and for the fleshe delights;
but thow dost plague vs all, and force vs for to die,
through murdring death, and famins rage, by thy extremitie;
for since the greedie mawes of thee, thy sonns and kinne,
cann never well be satisfied with that they dailie winn,
but that they horde, they scrape and gripe all that they [leaf 46, back] maie,
to sett them selves in highe estate by everie manns decaye,
devouring all the paynes which others doe imploye,
howe maie it chuse, but derth and want, all others must destroye?

---

(19) Pinkes.

ffreind *Meering*, I deeme you smell verie sweete,
that are soe full of Pinkes from hedd to the feete;
Yet if everie Pinke of your hatt, doblet, and hose
were decked with a garden Pinke to savour your nose,
You might stand for a maye game, what so you do thinke;
for thoughe the flowers were sweet, your follie wold stinke.

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(20) Shoinge.

Good Browne, thow doest complaine with heavie cheere,
the Shomaker shoes thee not to thy minde.
the fault is not his, as it maie appeare,
that with straite shoes thy foote hee doth bynde,
for hee makes them small like thy foote in ech̄ thinge,
since, in shooing thee, hee must shooe a goslinge.

---

(21) Glasses.

[leaf 47] The sundrie sort of glasses which art doth put in vre
for our delights, in severall kindes, sweete pleasures doe procure:
the daintie Ladies, loue in lookinge glasse to prye;
the glasse perspective, is desyrd of learnd Pholosophie;
greate states, their windowes deck with glasse, for their delight;
the searchinge Chimists, for their art, haue glasses strange of sight;
the burning glasse is made, a thinge of rare devise;
and glasse vessells for banquettinge are dailie had in pryse;
besides, there is of glasse a temple faire and brighte,
which learned Chaucer builded hath with penn of heavenlie spright;
And gascoigne, for his sport, hath made a glasse in verse,
wher wee maie see our owne defaults, which there he doth reherse;
but all these curious glasses, or anie of like kinde,
or other strange proportion which art or wealth maie finde,
Cannot content my frende; hee hath them in disdayne,
hee them reiects as frivolous, he houlds them all in vayne,
for, of all sorts of glasse which give forth anie shine,
my frend loves, euerie hower, to haue a venice glasse of wyne.

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(22) One assured he was elected.

Thow greatlie bragst how that thow art
assur'd thow art elected:
Chaunge but one letter, and thow saiest true, [leaf 47, back]
because thow art eiected.
ffor, knocking at the heavenlie gate,
to enter as right heire,
Thow art repulsd as bastard childe,
and driven to deepe despaire.

(23) Cham.

In all the course of thy vnhappie yeares,
noe kinde of vertue in thy life appeares;
ffor thow art *Cham*, or ells *Chamms* wicked brother:
he did deride his father; and thow thy mother;
his curse was greate; and soe will fall to thee,
that scoffes at her *which* still should honnored bee.

(24) Fayth.

Our Saviour *Christ*, with words of greife complayned,
that when he came to Iudge the world by fyer,
that fayth should not be found to his desire,
soe greatlie should the Christian fayth be strayned.
but if he nowe the same would come to finde,
he should see faythes more then stande with his minde;
ffor greater and more faiths in yearth, [leaf 48]
with menn did not abounde,
Soe contrarie, soe confident,
soe pleasant to bee founde.

(25) Cuttinge of tyme.

The Curious gardiner, with his cruell Shires
doth cutt the wholsome tyme, and her sweet flowers;
which hee doth cutt soe longe, till tyme at length
cuts of his life by doome of heavenlie powres,

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for tyme, in tyme cutts him with full despight,
that first by tyme cutt tyme from his delight. 6

(26) A tench and a wench.

A Catholike and a Protestant 1
were frendlie sett at meate,
for both whose dinner was prepared,
both fyshe and fleshe to eate. 4
They both, as did their conscience bidd,
feed on the severall dishe:
The Protestant vpon the fleshe,
the Papist on the fishe. 8
[leaf 48, back] At length the Catholike complaind,
our wantoun times to bee
disordered in everie thinge,
as dailie hee did see: 12
'ffor nowe our Protestants,' (said hee,)
'which newe Religion take,
Twixt Pigg and Pike, twixt Carpe and Capon,
not anie difference make.' 16
To whome the other replied: 'wee make
such difference of their kinde
As Papists doe twixt tench and wench,
to serve their wantoun minde.' 20

(27) Whoe are happie.

Antomedon the *Greeke Poet* doth tell, 1
and rightlie, yf the same be wayed well,
that firste he happie mann is sayed to bee,
which oweth nought, and is from borrowinge free; 4
Next, hee whome wedlocks fetters doth not strayne;
the third, whome childrens cares did never payne.
but if he bee soe madd to take a wife,
to ridd himself from his most quiet life, 8
yf shee be rich, and therwith soone to die,
hee happie is, to gaine her wealth therbye. 10

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(28) Linguistes.

[leaf 47]

Twoe gentlemen at meate by enterchaunge
of frendlie speech, the tyme to entertayne,
a womann did commend for vertues straunge,
as one that too much learning did attaine,
being a greate linguist, whych praise doth gaine;
for of the tongues shee nothinge was to seeke,
since she was skill'd in Hebrew and in Greeke.
The other said, "marveyle not much
that they such cuninge take,
ffor nature, by a speciall grace,
great linguists doth them make."

---

(29) Drinkinge.

The first delightinge draught
doth well thy Pallat please;
The second doth thy hart comfort,
and thy could stomake ease.

The third doth make the pleasant wyne
well knowne vnto thy skill;
The fourth encreaseth suddaine mirth,
and pleasure doth distill.

[leaf 49, back]

The fifte the braine doth hëate,
throwout in everie parte;
The sixte doth make the[e] verie learn'd
and cunninge in ech art.

The seaventh makes the[e] like [a] horse
that runnes without a rayne;
The eight, thy sences doth confound,
and takes awaye thy brayne.

The ninth doth make the[e] like
a swyne to fyle the place;
The tenth doth make thee worse then madd,
and hated with disgrace.

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Then flye excesse of wyne,
  which is not worthie blame,
ffor thow, not that, doste cause this ill,
  to thy perpetuall shame. 24

(30) Enuye.

Thow monster of mankinde, obscurer of good name,
thow hated childe of pride, and autor of thy shame,
whose heares are stinging snakes, whose face is pale & wann,
with scornfull eyes and browes, disdaining euerie mann,
with canker taynted tethe, and poysoned tongue of spight, 5
with vile detracting lipps, defaming euerie wighte,
[leaf 50] with breth of Sulphures smell, fedd with revenges desire,
with brests defyld with gall, and hart of flaminge Ire,
whose nayles are harpies clawes, and bodie leane and spare, 9
which never smiles, beinge still opprest with greife & care,
whose frettinge pynes thy hart, and eates thy flesh awaie,
still feeding on thy self, till thow dost cleane decaye 12
like burning *Aetna* monte, which with his stinking fumes
feedes on it self, and with his flame it self consumes.
thy force ech sowle doth feele, thoughe, to thy better paine, 15
except the mann deiect, whome fortune doth disdaine.

(31) Mann must provide for bodie and sowle.

The fairest Creature which the heavenlie hand 1
created, hath the cheefest thinge hee made,

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the Lord of Ayre, of Earth, of sea, and Land,
and of ech earthlie thinge which once must fade,
composed is of bodie form'd of claye,
and sowle divine which never shall decaye.

His sacred minde, sprung from celestiall seede,
doth him forwarne to lifte the same on hie.
his earthlie bodie, which elements doth feede,
makes him to thinke on thinges, and that be worldlie.
Thus sowle and bodie, vnited by their kinde, [leaf 50, back]
makes mann both heaven and earth allwaies to mind.

But soe to minde them both, as not excesse
in either, fall contrarie to their due,
for all extreames, the vice doth still expresse,
the (meane) is that which wee ought to pursue;
then, since god wilbe serv'd with both together,
vse well the one, to helpe and serve the other.

---

(32) Mongers.

A messe of mongers on *Holborne hill*,
the dolefull waie vnto the hatefull place,
where malefactors, much against their will,
cutt of their times with shame and fowle disgrace,
were frendlie mett, ech other faire greetinge,
asking what craft ech vsed for his livinge.

One said he was of the ffellmongers trade;
one other, that he Ironmonger was;
the thirde, that hee was costardmongers Iade;
the fourth, that he was a ffishmongers asse;
to whome a fifte, as by them he did walke,
with listening eare enclining to their talke,

did saye, "exclude me not, I craue, from out the rest, [leaf 51]
for of *your* trade I am the Quintessence,
since I am a monger good as the best,
and of my fleshe and purse, of Lardge dispence."

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" what monger maiest thow bee," did one replie,
" vnknowne as yett to all this companie?"
ffforthwith the mann, as pertest of them all,
sayed hee a whoremonger was knowne to bee;
" I will not loose my place in mongers hall,
being prentise once, although I now be free."
then all shooke hands, as nere of kinde to other,
biddinge him wellcome as their loving brother;
whoe, to confirme this knott of knaverie,
vnto the taverne hasted spedilie.

(33) Tyme.

An Auncient knight of ffee and of renowne,
with his Ladie to dinner sate him downe:
they sett; the hungrie knight did bid his mann
some pottage sett, with which the knight begann;
but eatinge fast and over greedilie,
a little herbe did take his course awrye,
[leaf 51, back] which made him coffe, that chok'd he was, he said.
Yet the good Ladie, therwith not dismayed,
" Sir, it is tyme, it is but tyme," replied.
the payned knight, the more, for anger, cried
that chok'd he was; but his Ladie, that ment
but well, saied " it is but tyme, sir, be content!"
whereat the knight the more did coffe and strayne,
ffor Anger of her speech then of the payne;
for where her wordes the herbe tyme did intend,
hee them mistooke, and deem'd shee sought his ende,
since wronglie hee conceiv'd therbye that shee
thought it but tyme that he should choked bee.

(34) Receipts and expenses.

A tutor, gluttinous and prodigall,
was by the Iudge assigned to a pupill,
who in excesse and ryot spendinge all,
with daintie fare his hungrie mawe did fill.

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The Iudge, offended with this lewde expence,
wilde the tutor a good accompt to make;
but he replied, without all reverence,
"there is naught left, and this count must you take."

The Angrie Iudge perceyvinge this deceipt, [leaf 52]
would knowe what he receyu'd and howe twas spent:
the tutor, gaaping, said, "her's the receyte
and her's th'expence," notinge his hinder vente.

---

(35) Counterfetts deuoure the whole world.

The kinge deuoures the husbandman;
fond youths do spoyle the kinge;
The vsurer consumes those youthes.
the preist decaye doth bringe
To vsurers; and whores consume
the preist with filthie lust;
The bawd eates vp the gayninge whore
who putteth her in truste;
The taverner beggars the bawde;
and next is swallowed vpp
The taverner, by Parasites
which hange vpon the cupp.
The needie Parasites in th'end
are spoyled by lothed lyce;
The Ape, mann counterfetter, eates
those vermyn at a trice.
So that the beastlie, mocking Ape,
which mowes at everie thinge,
By circulation doth consume [leaf 52, back]
the kingedome and the kinge.

---

(36) That one thinge Produceth annother.

The frutefull peace begetts desired plentie;
desired plentie brings forth lothsome pride;

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the lothsom pride makes men by warr to die;
longe warrs cause wofull povertie ech tyde,
and povertie makes frutefull peace to springe:
thus the worlds wheele is turn'd in everie thinge.

The fruitfull earth gives forth sustayning grasse;
sustayning grasse doth feed the norishing beasts;
the nourishing beaste, into manns flesh doth passe;
and glotinous mann, that feedes with daintie feaste,
dissolved is to frutefull yearth in hast;
for what feede vs, one vs doth feed at last.

Thus runns about by dailie circulation
ech earthlie thinge create by heavenlie hand;
for ones curruption is others generation,
as natures lawe hath linked with her band;
then happie thow, if sowle in true degree
doe end in god, from whome it came to thee.

[leaf 53]

(37) A longe nose.

A knight that should with curtesie
a ladie entertayne,
at her longe nose begann to scoffe
with words of some disdaine,
and said, 'yf your longe nose were not
a bulwarke of defence
To gard your lipps, they should be kiss'd
before wee parted hence.'
'why, sir,' quoth shee, 'spare not therfore,
yf nose such hindrance bee,
you maie, where hindred nose doth want,
with ease freelie kisse mee.'
The scoffing knight thus retaunted,
in furie flange awaye,
But with replyeng scoffe before,
he thus to her did saye:

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'Madame, it greatlie forceth not,
for sweetnes of your breth,
Whether I kisse your lipps above,
or ells your hipps beneath.'

(38) Spencers Fayrie Queene.

[leaf 53, back]

Renowmed Spencer, whose heavenlie sprite
ecclipseth the sonne of former poetrie,
in whome the muses harbor with delighte,
gracinge thy verse with Immortalitie,
Crowning thy fayrie Queene with deitie,
the famous *Chaucer* yealds his Lawrell crowne
vnto thy sugred penn, for thy renowne.

Noe cankred envie cann thy fame deface,
nor eatinge tyme consume thy sacred vayne;
noe carpinge zoilus cann thy verse disgrace,
nor scoffinge Momus taunt the with disdaine,
since thy rare worke eternall praise doth gayne;
then live thou still, for still thy verse shall live,
to vnborne poets, which light and life will give.

(39) Martine.

Menn say thow art call'd the Rich Martine,
in Latiane speech who art Martinus nam'de;
but wholie they mistake thie name, I wynne,
if to thy gaine the same be dulie fram'd,
for Martinus thow shouldst be termed right,
in hording gould which hast soe greate delight.

(40) Vsurers.

[leaf 54]

Stukelie the vsurer is dead, and bid vs all farwell,
who hath a Iourney for to ride vnto the court of hell;
yf anie would his letters send to Plutoes divelishe grace,
hee wilbe messenger therfore, and beare them to that
place;

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but yf he anie answer crave, of letters sent from hence,
he must some other post provide, which maie returne from thence,
for *Stukelie* once arived there, cannot come back againe,
since *Pluto*, for his needfull vse, doth meane him to retaine. 8

(41) Grace.

A man of lewd living all vertue sett at naught,
was rested by Sergiant at mace, and vnto prison brought,
who beinge sett at large, the *Bishop* would him trye,
and him to common pennance put, for dedes of Lecherie. 4
his aged mother, greved of her sonns open shame,
with gentle speech of moothers loue, his lewd follies did blame,
and said 'that want of grace did force him soe to fall;
wherfore hee dailie, on his knees, for needfull grace must call.' 8
her scoffinge sonne, which scorn'd his mother with disdaine,
said 'hee would rather hang, than seeke for anie grace againe;
for seriaunt grace his mace, his purse had sucked drie,
and the Archbishopps reverend grace had sham'd him penlie; 12
[leaf 54, back] And therefore since these twoo before, him did deface,
he soe, past grace, bequeath[d] them both vnto the divells grace.' 14

(42) Cardinge.

Kate is a good huswife, as all men saye,
for shee doth nought but card all the longe daie,
whoe in continuall carding hath such delight,
that, besides the daie, she will card in the night. 4

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ffor cardinge, to her is but a pleasant playe,
and when she playes she is cardinge allwaies.
Yet by her carding she hath little winninge,
for of her carding never com[e]th spinninge;
Soe she is a huswife, but noe good huswife, I trowe,
for of good huswifes cardinge, spinning doth growe.

(43) Reelinge.

Iohn, thy wife, to live doth take great payne,
a good huswifes name therbye to gaine;
for she spinnes and Reeles as fast as shee maye,
but cheeflie in reelinge spending the daye;
for, once haue shee sett the pott at her hedd,
she never lins reelinge till shee goe to bedd.

(44) A Rose.

[leaf 55]

Willford, thow lovest a pleasant Rose verie well,
both for the faier cullor and the sweete smell,
for thow canst not bee without a rose in thy bedd,
to colle the, and to laye her arme vnder thy hedd.
Yet is not thy *Rose*, flower of Carnation hue,
nor *per*fect white, nor redd, but yellowishe and blewe,
and therfore most meete to serve in the night,
for other Roses would shame her if she were in the light.

(45) Sowinge.

Sweete flowers growe when gardeners sowes the seed;
the plowman sowes the graine wherby wee live;
and man sowes that wheron mankinde doth breed,
soe that their sowing, his like doth allwaies give.

But weemen sowe farr different from these kindes,
both workes and wordes *wh*ich send forth paine and greefe,
for with there words they vex their husbands mindes,
*w*ith needle sowinge, not gayninge their releife.

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They sowe discorde, with tongue of false report;
their needle sowinge, doth breed but more expence;
they sowe deceyt, and make therof a sport;
their needle workes are but a showes pretence.
[leaf 55, back] Then lett not wemenn sowe, yf thow bee quiet bent,
for of their doble sowing, growes naught but discontent.

(46) Woodcocks.

He is as wise as a Woodcock, all wee doe see,
because everie woodcock is as wise as hee,
which wee knowe to be true, and that the rather,
for that Alderman woodcock was his father:
A thinge of greate worth, that woodcocks are made
the governours of Citties and the Marchants trade.
Then woodcock on his side, by birth and by witt,
makes him as wise as a woodcock his birth for to fitt;
for if naught ells causd him a woodcock to bee,
yet since he is borne a woodcock in everie degree,
he cannot degenerate from woodcocks kinde,
and therfore as wise as a woodcock you shall him finde.

(47) Kissinge.

Three pleasant gentlemen vpon the waye
did meete three maides that went them forth to playe;
the menn of ech other would gladlie knowe,
which of the maides he would kisse in the rowe.
the maydes, like goselinges, after other went,
noe whit mindinge the menn nor their intent.
But of the menn, the first amongst the rest,
[leaf 56] that with his fellowes scoffinglie would Iest,
said 'hee would kisse the pretie maide before,'
not meaning for to meddle with anie more.
the other said, 'yf he might haue his wishe,
the browne wench in the middle he would kisse;'

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the third, as liked best vnto his minde,
said 'hee would kisse the blobcheckt wench behinde.'
Nowe, fellow *Garrett*, of the would I crave,
w*hi*ch of these three the sweetest kisse should haue;
for the wenches breath, formost of the three,
smelled verie ranke in the highest degree.

---

(48) White heares.

At the Rose within newgate, ther frendlie did meete,
fower of my ould frends, ech other for to greete:
one had a black beard, but white was his hedd;
one other, white hedd, w*i*th a beard w*hi*ch was redd;
the third had yellowish hedd, but his beard somewhat white;
the yongest had silver berde, and hedd agreeing righte.
thus sett at their cupps, they thought to devise
howe these severall white heares in them did arise.
the black berd and white hedd begann for to saye,
'his hedd was elder then his berde by twentie winters daye,
ffor where nature by age doth soonest decaye, [leaf 56, back]
graye heares spring vp, w*hi*ch age doe displaye.'
the other white hedd with the reddishe beard, tould,
'that his hedd was not white because he was ould,
but for that he had more labored, by studie his brayne,
then his teeth by eatinge, his hedd white heares did gayne.'
the third, with yellowish hedd and beard somwhat white,
Philosopher-like, this cause did recite,
'I see it perfect true, for soe you agree,
that what is labored most will weakest bee;
and what of mann is most weake by kinde,
soonest graye haires in that part you shall finde;
then vsinge my teeth more than my witt, by right,
my berde then my witt, must needes be more white.'

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the last, with a ieste to knitt vp the game,
this reason for himself begann for to frame,
'hornes and hoore hares comm not by age, menn tell,
and that by my self I haue tried verie well,
for havinge both agreeing together,
Cares gaue the one, and my wife gaue the tother.'

(49) Cutters.

'Iack, I here thow hast leaft thine ould trade;
thow wilt noe more become a ripiers Iade.'
[leaf 57] 'In fayth, good Will, thow sayest true,
for I haue left mine ould occupation for a newe,
for I cann braue it in the streetes with the rest,
beinge a right cutter, as good as the best.'
'A cutter! what cutter, I praye the, maye that bee?
a cutter of Queene hithe, or a garment cutter, tell mee,
A Swashebuckler cutter, or one of the cutthrotes,
or a garden cutter, or a false cutter of groates?
Or art thow such a cutter as ostelers and tapsters be,
or a woode cutter, a stone cutter, or a heare cutter, letts see?'
noe, in faith, Will, for better or worse,
I am none of these, but a plaine cutpurse;
a life of such pleasinge, that I never feele payne
till the rope and the gallowes doe hinder my gaine.'

(50) The deceased Pretor.

Thy vertue, not thy vice; faith, not dissembling speech;
thy goodnes, not thy flowings goods, made thee this honor reach.

(51) To Humfrie Waldronn.

Yf reasons worthie minde prescribe this reede,
and Iustice bidd ech one with Iust desart

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for to requite with like, the frendlie deede,
in outward shewe and inward faithfull harte,
then must I yeald vnto your gentle heste, [leaf 57, back]
and streyne my quill to answere your request.

Wherin with slender phrase I gentlie craue
your skillfull muse to pardon skillesse write,
and rather waie the honnest minde I haue,
then simple quill which rashelie doth recite
what Idle brayne hath fondlie found at large,
which I present, our freindshipp to discharge.

A ffoolishe *Cherill* I maye seeme to bee,
that shame not to present vnto thy sight
Sir Topas ridinge rime not meet for thee,
Nor Gouldings learned vewe, that famous wight,
whose hawtie verse, with sugredd words well knitt,
bereaves the same of *Chawcers* flowing witt.
Then frendlie take in gree this frendlie verse I frame,
and thinke, to his *Perithous*, that *Thesius* writes the same.

(52) Fortune.

Blinde ffortune, with her fonde and sencelesse sence,
regarding nought the worth of anie wight,
which heedleslie her riches doth dispence,
not forcinge whether shee doth wronge or right,
Enricht by suche as vices do adorne,
The good reiectinge with most bitter skorne, [leaf 58]
Which growes, for that noe perfect good she knowes,
beinge onelie fedd with vaine and outward showes.

(53) To his freind Burrell.

The loathed povertie still shall thee feede
yf poore thow be in anie time of life,
By byrth, or fortune, or for want of heede,
for vnto such, rewards are nothinge rife,

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since, in this thanklesse age, none wealth attaine,
but such as riches haue, and giue for gaine.
Then must thy hard and woefull state
of shamefast povertie
Embrace patience, since vnto thee
welth will not multiplie.

(54) Issues.

The Ioyfull mother brings forth manie faire yssues,
the learned lawyer brings his cause to good yssues,
the skilld Phisition makes for goute runninge yssues,
the faulting Iuror is amerc'd in much yssues;
the large expences are counted needles yssues;
but yet, of all the yssues wee haue in anie kinde,
none is more badd then yssuing from our land, wee finde,
for soe our witt and wealth from vs soone yssues then,
which lost and brought to naught, w'are scorned of all menn:
[leaf 56, back] Such yssue they obteyne, their birth right *which* doe sell,
on *which* yssue the verdit hath condempned mee right well.

(55) Mariage.

Deepe witted menn, b'experience haue contrived,
that mariage good and quiet is ech hower,
where the mans heringe organs are deprived
of their right vse and sound receyving power,
and where is seeled vp the womans percing sights
that shee maie not behould her husbands sweet delights.

ffor since nature hath made that sex most fraile,
and subiect to tormentinge Ielousie,
vpon ech guiltles signe they will not fayle,
their loving husbands to suspect falselie;
yet if she could not see, but were by nature blinde,
such fonde conceites she would not harbor in her minde.

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And if suspected mann were dombe to heere
the Iealous brawles of his vnquiet wife,
ech would embrace and hould the other deere,
wherbye they might obtayne a quiet life,
without which rare effects, swete mariage is a hell,
but linked with these guiftes, doth Paradice excell.

(56) Sweete mouthes.

[leaf 59]

A noble Earle, to vertue allwaies bent,
with rich and scoffinge knight on hunting went:
the Buck was rows'd, the hounds vncopled bee,
who with swifte course, to flie did seeme to mee,
and eger of the game, in their full crie
with dobled voice lowd ecchoed in the skie,
whose pleasant musick did the eares delight
of Earle and all the rest, except the knight,
that pleasured more in purchasing and gayne
than hawkes or hounds, or in such toyes vaine.
of whome the Earle demanded curteouslie,
when ended was the hounds long solempne crie,
'yf those faire doggs, with their reioicing voice,
had not sweete mouthes as hounds of rarest choice;'
wherto the knight gaue answere scoffinglie,
'hee did not knowe till hee the same should trie,
for anie of them he never kissed there,
and soe knewe not how sweet that there mouthes were.'
wherat good Earle, which tooke it in disdaine,
from moved chollar hardlie could refraine,
but said 'if that you kist them not before,
you maie with ease kisse them behinde the more.'

(57) Fooles.

[leaf 59, back]

Hee was not wise, his witt hath him deceyved,
that would bee wise, and not a foole be deemed,

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but I, which haue the truth by witt conceyved,
doe holde it best a foole to bee estemed,
the cause wherof by reason is perceyved,
ffor wisdome knowes, of fooles is endlesse number,
that in their follie foolishlie doe slumber.

Then is it best to be of that consort
and sweete societie which moste doe hould;
the fewest menn to wisdome doe resort,
and leste in number soonest are contrould;
soe least are least estem'd in everie sort;
then must the wise, which is the lesser number,
be compted those which all the world doe cumber.

Greate ffranchises the fooles are knowen to haue,
because they swaye in all the greatest part:
the wise stand back, forc't of the fooles to crave,
thoughe fooles cannot Iudge of their good deserte,
yet must those fooles their vertuous life deprave,
for they stand warme, are fedd and cloth'd of beste,
when wise menn begg, or are with famin prest.

[leaf 60]

(58) Gallopinge.

ffrom windsore ridinge, to the statelie towne,
the seate of ffamous kings and Inglands pryde,
in hast, I mett, in midst of Hunslowe downe,
a gentle youth which postinglie did ride,
a frend of mine, whome I forc'd there to staie,
to knowe the cause hee ridd soe fast awaye.

Whoe said, "muse not, I frendlie the require,
to see mee gallop with soe light a hedd,
since I farr lighter am in this retyre,
then when to *London* I my Iourney spedd;
ffor when I went, my creed 12 partes did holde,
but one is lost, soe I more light and bould,
the twelfe is gone, eleaven I keepe in store,
Christ went not vnto hell: what would you more?"

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(59) Churches.

The Auncient *Saxons* did full Christianlie,
to shewe their fervent zeale and zealous love,
erect most statelie churches plenteouslie,
as holie place ordain'd for god above.
But nowe *le monde reuerse*, the world turn'd upside downe,
our *Scismatikes* will haue noe church in Cittie or in towne.
Noe Church! alas! what doe I saye? I lye; [leaf 60, back]
they sett vpp churches twentie for their one,
for everie private howse spirituallie
must bee their church, for other will they none,
Excepte the open felds, or ells false Ethnicks groves of trees,
where sencelesse as the sencelesse woods they flock like swarms of bees;
there sowe they *Satans* damning seedes, of w*hi*ch dissention springs,
(tearing Christes vndivided coate), w*hi*ch all to ruyne bringes.

(60) Menn before Adame.

Good *Moses* (w*hi*ch didst write by sprite of God),
some makes thy witt as watrye as thy name;
thy art, to serpents w*hi*ch did turne thy rodd,
thy sacred quill, w*hi*ch newborne world did frame,
are nothinge worth; thy Iudgements are but lame;
ffor the *Italian* redie witt doth sett the vnto schoole,
and *Francis George*, in his scriptures problemes, makes the a foole.

Thow couldst not see, (w*hi*ch everie thinge didst see,
of newspronge world Create by Ioue his hand,)
that before Adame, (calld first mann by thee,)
were manie menn (w*hi*ch by thy words is skande),

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for some Italians thy words so vnderstand,
And *Francis George* doth, *Talmude* like,
by thy penn thee confound,
[leaf 61] Provinge that manne *Androgenon*
was first made out of grownde:
But lett those wranglinge witts, that seeme
to teach godds heavenlie sprite,
Beware his scourging rodd deprive
them not of sence and light.

(61) Iuye.

Thow Bacchus plant, *which* allwaies greene dost springe,
Poets reward, and glorie of their penn,
the touchstone of wyne *which* to the sprite doth bringe
a quickning force to rouse the witt of menn,
why dost thow clyme my howse so spreddinglie,
and yeald thy sacredd budds soe frutefullie?
In vaine thow doest ascend these rurall tyles
which prōfound *Virgill* never yet behelde,
nor wantonn *Ouid*, whose rare penn compyles
strange changed shapes *which* abstruse science yeald,
nor wittie *Flaccus* did hange his harpe here,
nor doth *Tibullus* gold in this appere.
ffor in this cottage rurall muse doth reste;
here dwelleth *Cherill*, and *Topas* the knighte;
[leaf 61, back] pore oten ryme is onelie here exprest,
noe helicon verse or muse of rare delight;
but since thow hast this rusticke wall adorned,
doe florishe longe, all though my verse be scorned.

(62) Iestinge.

Three things there be *which* maie susteyne noe Ieste
or foolishe blemishe of our Idle braine:

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the honest fame wherwith our life is blest;
our godlie faith, for that maye bide noe stayne
of heresie, or false religions bayne;
Next, watrishe eye, wherof ech litle gall
doth hurte the sight and dangers th'ye withall.

(63) Honor.

The glorious Queene, honor, desir'd of all,
wherto ambitious mindes greatlie aspires,
still gapinge, that on them her rayes maye fall
with glorious stiles to answer their desires,
which hautie hart by price and prayse requires,
is seldome found, as grave ancients devise,
of such as gredilie wold to honnor rise.

ffor shee enquires of those shee never sawe,
she followeth them that from her faste doe flye,
she honnors such from her which doe withdrawe, [leaf 62]
she loveth all that naught esteemes her glorie,
she calls for them that scorns her vanitie,
she trusteth those whome she did never knowe,
and such rewards in whome hidd vertues flowe.

This contemplative Philosophers tould
With all their skill, vnknowinge her true kinde;
for other course doth this faire Ladie hould,
since to her glitteringe bowres newe stepps are signed,
whertoe nowe none the redie waye cann finde,
but suche as enter with a keye of gould
by false faire shewes or flatteries manifold.

(64) Temperance.

The heroike vertues Cardinall,
wherof the learned write,
Doe from right kinde degenerate,
and with themselves do fighte.

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If heavenlie temperance doe not
their Rygor moderate,
As the true arbitrer and the
true stickler of their bate.

[leaf 62, back] ffor Iustice without temperance
shadowes revenginge Ire,
And fortitude without the same
is rashe vnquenched fyre.

Soe wisdome wanting the due force
of temperance, wee trye,
Egregious follie to be deem'de,
and cosoninge subtiltie.

when hee w*h*ich hath true temperance,
all vertues doth embrace,
Is wise, is iust, is valiant,
and honnored in ech place.

Since this faire Queene, dame Temperance,
attended is allwaies
with rare and honnorable maydes
deserving worthie prayse;

ffor lawded virgin modestie,
and blushefull shamefastnes,
And holie abstinence, the nourse
of all true godlines,

Pure honestie, wise frugallness,
and right sobrietie,
The Angellike continencie,
and fames eternitie,

[leaf 63] Doe dailie followe Temperance,
as handmaides ever preste,
And worthie members of that Queene,
for to performe her heste,

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Whoe, for their Ladies liverie,
her ensigne and her worde,
To shewe how her wise actions
doe with her speech accord.

This famous sentence beare vppon
their sleeves embrodred still
(*Not to much*), which wise *Pitacus*
fram'd to her sacred will.

(65) Doinge nothinge.

A Crabbed Cobler, and his slothfull wife,
which would not labour for to gett her meate,
from words to blowes did often fall at strife;
but as the husband did her feircelie beate,
this question shee did oftentimes repeate:
'why doe you thus torment me in my life,
Since I haue nothinge said, nor nothinge donne?'
but he, continuinge still as he begun,
Said, 'for that cause onelie he made his blowes soe rife.'

(66) Astrologers.

[leaf 63, back]

Malevolent *Saturne*, vnhappie starr,
hath loste the vse of ferce and cruell sight,
Ne cann from stone a childe discerne from farre;
the shamefaste moone cann with her bashefull light
see naught but what is pure and virgin bright;
the thundringe *Ioue*, with loue doth onelie minde
his white Europa, though a mortall wight;
the warlike *Mars*, to coole his youthfull kinde,
doth *Venus* halse; and lustfull *Venus*, *Mars* doth bynde.

The Lawrell *Phebus*, with his glittering hedd,
the glorious god that rules in fyerie chaire,
doth onelie thinke on *Daphnes* plesante bedd;
to *Herseus* love, doth *Mercurie* repaire,
the wittie sonne of Maya the faire:

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thus all the plannetts are employd in skye;
wherbye thow maist (Astrologer) dispaire,
by their aspectes or workinge power, to trye
whoe doth the Cuckold make, and thy hed hornifie.

(67) The herbe *filius ante Patrem.*

[leaf 64] A vertuous Ladie, skilfull herbaliste,
in *Chimick* art whoe takes noe meane delight,
whome modestie with good report hath bliste,
and wifelie dutie hath adorned righte,
of gentleman (that learned would bee deem'd,
as by his *tria verba* he had seem'de,)
Demanded 'if the herbe most rare of sight,
and of all Artistes greatlie esteem'de,
which *filius ante patrem* they doe hight,
were to him knowne': who said, with courage bould,
his deepe insight in herbes for to vnfould,
'it is, madame, well knowne to everie wight,
to be sonne of *Antipater*, as learned men doe houlde.'

(68) Monstrous Childe.

Did Learned *Ouid* live, with poetrie divine,
his Metamorphosis he would a newe refyne,
and add this prodigie, as vncouth as the reste,
of his transformed shapes which there he hath expreste;
ffor here, though bodies were to other forms not chang'd,
[leaf 64, back] Yet is this followinge truth as farr from nature strang'd,
That the celestiall saints which doe adorne the skye,
should from the heavens discend, and children multiplie;
for why sainte Peters sonne, a thinge to fewe men knowne,
maintaind a child which he supposd to bee his owne,
yet others had more righte to her by kindlie knott;
soe easilie one others child falls to our lott.
This is a thinge vnvsd, a Saint a sonne to haue,
and hee deformed, not shap'd as heavenlie bodies crave,

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whoe, though of heavenlie seed, yet was he foule beguylde,
that fondlie nourished as his, one others childe,
exceedinge anie chyld which natures course doth give,
for lightlie she could beare the tallest mann on live;
soe bigg her bone in bredth, soe monstrous shee did seeme,
that ech, noe childe, but perfect woman, did her deeme.
Thus nature changinge kinde,
these monsters forth doth sende,
Saint Peters sonne, a woman childe,
which could with menn contende.

---

(69) A godly mann.

He is a godlie mann, that doth with tongue and minde
and sincere hart, the heavenlie god
adore in his true kinde,
That liberall is to pore, that Iustice doth maintaine, [leaf 65]
And beinge chosen for a Iudge,
takes noe reward for gayne;
That is not mov'd with loue, or doth for anger hate,
And as infectinge poysonn, shunns
fonde scouldinge and debate;
That hath a good foresight in what he takes in hand,
that rashelie nothinge doth attempte
which reason maie withstande;
That chooseth honnest frends, for to converse with all,
whose sage and true advise maye helpe
in dangers when they fall;
That vtters with his tongue, but what his hart conceives,
And doth envie that wicked speech,
which other menn deceyves;—
This is a godlie mann; but I thinke none is found,
In whome these sacred vertues doe
in their full power abounde.

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(70) Kindred.

Why kneele you heere, faire Ladies, thus amased,
before *Apollo*, as though you sacrificed?
These litle babes within your armes thus foulded,
in weepinge sort soe piteouslie disguised?
[leaf 65, back] what secret greife of fortunes evill change
hath happened you? declare, and bee not straunge.

Wee here lament noe fortune of mishapp,
wee crave noe goodes from godds for to discende,
ne doe wee wishe our Ennemies to entrapp,
nor seeke revenge of such as vs offende,
but of most fowle incest wee feele false fame,
and craue *Apollo* to rid vs from the same.

ffor these two babes which here thow dost behould,
are our owne sonns by fleshlie generation;
they are brothers to our husbands, of this be bould,
and vncles to ech other by procreation;
their mothers and grandmothers thow shalt vs finde
in lawfull mariage and course of honnest kinde.

which wee beseech Apollo for to shewe,
who leavinge that to earthlie menn of skill,
wee thee desire, yf ought therof thou knowe,
the same to tell accordinge to our will;
Soe shall wee sound thy worth and learned name,
Since thow shalt cleere vs from incestuous shame.

[leaf 66]

(71) The Courte and Cuntrey.

My yonge and youthfull yeares,
that once drewe forth my life
In pleasant game of ffancies trayne,
where pleasures all were rife,
Haue nowe forsaken quite
their ould and wonted trade;
My strength is gone, my mirth is past,
my wantonn daies doe fade.

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ffor where I often vsed,
amongst the Courtlie sort,
In Idle play, through bewties hue,
with loving talke to sport,
Nowe am I shakenn of,
My faltring tongue doth staye,
Vntimelie thoughts of such mishapp
hath worne such toyes awaye,
And I must rest at home,
lock'd from my pleasures paste;
They scorne me nowe whome I disdaind:
this is my fall at laste.
ffrom Court to cart I flye,
a longe but easie leppe;
I liste noe more with glosinge speech [leaf 66, back]
on fortunes wheele to stepp.
She did advance me once,
to throwe me downe againe,
But through her spite and my good happ
more quiet I attaine.
The little shrubbs that growe
hard by the tender grasse,
Abide the force of blusteringe winde,
when greater trees doe crashe.
The lowe and meane estate
is surest thinge, I finde;
The Courtlie life vnstedfast is,
more fleeting than the winde.
There spend they all they haue,
and more, if need require;
They gape for this, they watch for that,
they followe ech desire.
They frowne vpon their frends,
and fawne vpon there foes;
They envie all the favored,
they scorne the mann in woes;

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They presse vpon the prince,
they glose for hope of gayne;
[leaf 67] they hate the wise, they ride the fooles,
they laughe and loue in vaine.
They seeke with greatest shewe
for to maintaine their route;
They pinche and spare, they carke and muse,
to bringe the same about.
Thus, vnder all this shewe
and troope of goulden sights,
They doe possesse vnrestfull daies
and thowsand woefull nights.
ffore loe, this goulden miserie,
as I doe finde, is naught,
But highe disdaine Ioynd with distresse
and manie mourning thought.
Wheras my Cuntrye life,
which nowe I take in hand,
Bringes quiet rest, a carelesse minde,
it needes noe lustie band.
Wee envie noe estate,
wee loue the porest sorte;
We lavishe not Ill gotten goods,
wee keepe a meaner port.
Wee spend as reason bidds,
wee entertaine our frend
[leaf 67, back] In honnest state; and when you lack,
then must wee seeme to lend;
which is farr better case,
at neede allwaies to haue,
Then for to spend without a reine,
and then haue need to craue.
Our garments are not gaye,
our garners haue the more;
wee seeke noe statelie halls, nor hante
the Princes Court therfore,

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But live in pore estate,
more quiet in our brest
Then those whome dailie service doth
procure soe much vnrest.
Wee passe the silent night
with his vnbroken sleepe;
Wee ease our heavie minde with mirth;
of loue wee take noe keepe.
I therfore flie the presse
and troope of Courtlie trayne
And scorne their pride that scorne my fall,
to rest from restles payne.
I leaue the Courtlie life
to those that skillesse are,
And hedlonge runn by others harms, [leaf 68]
that soone will not beware.
My cottage doth content
my well contented minde;
My wantoun yowth is gone, and nowe
grave thoughts in hedd I finde.
Thus well I tried haue,
that my mishappe hath wrought,
More quiet state for my behoofe
then I had ever thoughte.
In happie tyme, therefore,
I banishd such a life,
where no thinge certaine maie be found,
where all things are but strife.
Thus, carefull Court, farwell!
and wellcome Cuntrie state,
where thow shalt live at quiet rest
from all envyenge hate.

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(72) The number 1, 2, 3, 4.

One simple thinge cann nothinge worke,
yt maie not stand, but fall.
Twoe maie both much and great things doe;
but three maie compasse all.

[leaf 68, back] And fower, I trulie finde to bee
perfection of ech thinge,
ffor in the same conteyned is
what heaven and earth maye bringe.

Woe, then, to him that is alone,
Kinge *Dauids* sonne cold saye,
for yf he fall, he wanteth helpe
to raise him or to staye.

But where twoe things doe meete in one,
as nature help'd by art,
There mann maye prove miraculous,
through his celestiall part.

But rightlie yf these worthie two
themselves from Center spred
To three kinds of Philosophie,
newe Creatures maie be bred.

ffor if divine Philosophie,
the naturall and morrall,
ffrom Center spred themselves abrode
and then in Center fall,

There wilbe vnion of these three,
Sol, *lune*, and *Mercurie*;
ffor in the heaven and Earth three things
the truth do testifie:

[leaf 69] All w*hi*ch Saint Iohn did trulie knowe,
and therefore rightlie tould
That three is one, and one is three,
w*hi*ch fewe menn cann vnfould.

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But if with all this secrett three
the number fower be placed,
In *Tetragramaton* I finde
the worke shall well be graced. 36

Add therefore one to three and fower,[1] [[1] ? to 2, 3, 4 = 9]
makinge the number tenn,
In w*h*ich enclosed is the skill
fast lock'd from common menn. 40

Take this my sweete conceyt in worth,
though worthlesse vnto thee,
whose sacred witt, with abstruse skill
is fraught in ech degree. 44

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(73) [2]M[r] Camdens Britania.

[[2] ? MS. K or another letter I can't read.]

The holie licor (whose mysteries divine 1
to *Venus* Squire consecrate are seene)
needes not the Poets braunch (touchstone of wyne),
the Clyming Ivye allwaies freshe and greene, 4
In Sommers scorchinge heate and winters could,
to make that wyne the better to be sould. 6

And learned *Camden*, with his searching witt, 7 [leaf 60, back]
whose deepe studie, by travells carefull payne,
hath from errors and mace[3] of *Dedalus* pitt, [[3] maze]
(for Cuntries loue,) drawne vnto light agayne 10
worthye Antiquities, wherof before
none sayed the like, or shall doe anie more. 12

This *Philopolites* needeth not, I saye, 13
My rough pensill to portrait his desart;
but as good wyne commends it self allwaie
without the Ivye signe, soe in noe part 16
he needes noe prayse, synce that his learned quill
with flowing style his prayses doth distill. 18

ffor by his guide the *Roman* names doe live, 19
and ancient things consum'd by cancred byte

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of ould Iniurious tyme, he doth revive,
in *Latiane* tongue, a worke *which* breedes delight
and Cuntries good, to such as will embrace
soe rare a gemm not found in other place.

His deepe conceit I highlie doe admire,
his strange Invention I knowe not howe to praise,
the truth of things whereto he doth aspire
is past my reach to shewe by anie waies;
[leaf 70] what will you more? breifelie, this thing I teach,
hee hath donne that *which* noe mann ells could reach.

Buy then this worke! doe read and reade againe!
esteeme the mann, as hee doth merrit well!
requite *with* thanks the frute of Endlesse payne
represse envye! in vaine! since I knowe well,
to seeke a knott in rushe thow maist contend,
and teare *with* spite what thow canst not amende.

(74) Solomons witt.

ffreind *Eldrington*, thow art as wise
As *Salomon*, menn saye,
ffor thow art like to him in witt,
in earnest and in playe.

But what is like, is not the same,
as all menn well doe finde:
Soe thow hast not *Solomons* witt
in all points of his minde.

Yet in one thinge thow dost the height
of his rare witt expresse,
In chaunge of *Venus* sweete delights
and Lecheries excesse.

[leaf 70, back] In other thinges thow art not hee,
noe more then is an Ape,
Whoe is like thee in Peevishe witt
and in deformed shape.

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Thus must I playe with thy fyne witt,
to answere thy fonde Ieste,
That scoffes at everie meaner witt,
*wh*ich wisemenn doe detest.

(75) Leylandes rightefull ghost.

What *Endore* phytonesse, what envious hart,
what fourth furie, what rage of witlesse braine
Doth vex my sprite against his due desart,
and force me causelesse, wronglie to complaine?
one guiltlesse hand, *wh*ich doth mye fame retaine,
all thoughe detractinge penn with deepe despite
cannot behould the beames of Englands lighte.

My name, my fame, my labors, and my penn,
my indisgested worke of highe conceit,
came not to be obscur'd in thanklesse *Denne*,
ffor he (whome skillesse malice through deceit
sekes to entrapp with hooke of scorning beyt)
doth gratefullie receyve my buryed name, [leaf 71]
*wh*ich otherwise had perished to my shame.

By him I live, by him the world doth knowe,
by him the heauens and humane Lawes doe finde
that he hath, farr beyond my broken shewe,
his Cuntries glorie in one worke combinde,
with gratious style, and sprite of heavenlie minde,
*wh*ich both to mine and his immortall praise,
in spite of spite, will honnored bee allwaies.

And therefore, in most humble sort, doe sue
that Learn'd *Camden* his right guerdon maye haue,
and that those coniuringe words maie finde ther due,
*wh*ich vex my sprite, and raise me from my grave,
whoe never deem'd his learning to deprave
ffor I confesse, he rarelie doth compleate
that famous worke *wh*ich I could not entreate.

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(76) Quiet and Rest.

As wearie bodie doth restore his strength *with* rest,
as fertill soyle sometimes vntild doth prove the best,
As laboringe beastes, the ox, the horse, must quiet haue,
as toylinge daie, the restefull night doth dulie crave,
[leaf 71, back] As bowe still bent, in time is weake
and looseth strength,
As Sommers flowers in Winters rootes
doe reste at length,—
Soe must the rulinge minde, the seate
where reasone reynes,
with quiet recreate it self
from former paynes.
ffor what wants interchanged rest
will weare awaye,
And restles paines, both witt and wealth,
doth soone decaye.
Then cease, thow wearie muse, allwaies
to beate thy brayne
And weare thy paynefull hand,
w*hi*ch never reaped gaine;
Since all thy sweating toyle finds but
such hard event
As damned *Sisiphus*,
most bitter punishement,
Wherbye thy goulden tyme
thow thriftelesse dost consume,
Like *Gebers Cooke*, to waste thy wealth
in Ayerye fume.

Finis.

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NOTES.

p. 2. *Chyrill.* "He (Lysander) always kept the Spartan poet Choerilus in his retinue, that he might be ready to add lustre to his actions by the powers of verse. And when Antilochus had written some stanzas in his praise, he was so delighted that he gave him his hat full of silver." Lysander, Langhorne's *Plutarch.*—S. See note on p. 77, l. 13, p. 104.

p. 6, l. 4. *Genius.* A Roman kept holiday and sacrificed to his genius or guardian spirit on important occasions such as birthdays. Hence the phrase "indulgere genio," to enjoy oneself.—S.

p. 7 (3), l. 6. *Ceres.* "It is an old and well-known sentence, 'Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus' (love grows cool without bread and wine)." Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy.* Love Melancholy, Numb. V., Subsect. 1.—S.

p. 16, l. 8. *Basiliske.* "To come now unto the Basiliske, whom all other serpents do flie from and are affraid of: albeit he killeth them with his very breath and smel that passeth from him; yea, and (by report) if he do but set his eie on a man it is enough to take away his life."—Holland's *Pliny*, tom. II., p. 356, ed. 1635. "bred it is in the province Cyrenaica, and is not above twelve fingers bredth long: a white spot like a starre it carrieth on the head, and sets it out like a coronet or diadem: if he but hisse once, no other serpents dare come neere: hee creepeth not winding and crawling byas as other serpents doe, with one part of the body driving, the other forward, but goeth upright and aloft from the ground with one halfe part of his body: he killeth all trees and shrubs not onely that he toucheth, but also that hee breatheth upon: as for grasse and herbes, those he sindgeth and burneth up, yea, and breaketh stones in sunder; so venimous and deadly he is. It is received for a truth, that one of them on a time was killed with a launce by an horsman from his horse-back, but the poison was so strong that went from his body along the staffe, as it killed both horse and man: and yet a silly weazle hath a deadly power to kill this monstrous serpent, as pernicious as it is [for many kings have been desirous to see the experience thereof, and the manner how he is killed]. See how Nature hath delighted to match every thing in the world with a concurrent. The manner is, to cast these weazles into the hole and cranies where they lye, (and easie they be to know by the stinking sent of the place about them:) they are not so soone within, but they overcome them with their strong smell, but they die themselves withall;

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and so Nature for her pleasure hath the combat dispatched." *Ibid.* tom. I., p. 206-7.—S.

p. 23, No. 25, l. 1. *The Melitane Dogge.* "A Melitean Dog, or a little Dog for a Ladies Lap."—*Minshue*, 1626.

"A little pretty dog which women use to play with: a Fisting[1] hound. *Melitæus canis.*"—*Gouldman's Lat. Dict.*, 1669.

"An animal once peculiar to *Malta*, is the small dog with a long silken coat, mentioned by Pliny, which Buffon calls *bichon;* but this race of dogs is now extinct."—*Penny Cyclopædia.*

"The little dogs and all,
Tray, Blanch, and Sweet-heart, see, they bark at me."—*Lear*, III. 6.
. . . . . "as full of quarrel and offence
As my young mistress' dog."—*Othello*, II. 3.

Probably the dogs referred to in the above two passages may have been of the Maltese breed; as also may have been the "Jewel" Proteus sent to Sylvia, and which was stolen from Launce by the hangman-boys.—P. A. DANIEL.

Strabo of the *Melitæan* Dogs.

"There is a Town in *Pachynus*, a Promontory of *Sicily* (called *Melita*[2]), from whence are transported many fine little Dogs called, *Melitæi Canes;* they were accounted the Jewels[3] of Women; but now [A.D. 1607] the said Town is possessed by Fishermen, and there is no such reckoning made of those tender little Dogs,—for these are not bigger then common Ferrets, or Weasils,—yet are they not small in understanding, nor mutable in their love to men: for which cause they are also nourished tenderly for pleasure; whereupon came the proverb, *Militæa Catella*, for one nourished for pleasure; and *Canis digna throno*, because Princes hold them in their hands, sitting upon their estate.[4]

Ælianus. "Theodorus, the tumbler and dancer, had one of these, which loved him so well, that at his death he leaped into the fire after *Blondus.* his body. Now a dayes, they have found another breed of little Dogs in all Nations, beside the *Melitæan* Dogs, either made so by art, as inclosing their bodies in the earth when they are Whelps,—so as they cannot grow great, by reason of the place,—or else, lessening and impayring their growth, by some kind of meat or nourishment. These are called in *Germany*,

The art of making of little Dogs.

[1] ? One to be handled. But the term may be susceptible of a less cleanly interpretation. See the extract on page 100—"*which some frumpingly term Fysting Hound.*"—P. A. D.

[2] Melita is no doubt Malta, the island south of Pachynus.

[3] Compare Proteus in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV. iv., "*Launce.* Marry, Sir, I carried mistress Silvia the dog you bade me. *Pro.* And what says she to my little *jewel?*"

[4] See, in Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages," Vol. 2, the portrait of Constancia Duchess of Lancaster, wife of John of Gaunt, with one of these little dogs in her lap: from an Illuminated MS. in the Brit. Museum, date about 1525.—P. A. D.

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Bracken Schosshundle and *Gutschenhundle;* the *Italians*, *Bottolo*[1]; other Nations have no common name for this kind that I know. Martial made this Distichon of a little French Dog; for about *Lions* in *France* there are store of this kinde, and are sold very dear; sometimes for ten Crowns, and sometimes for more.

Delicias parvæ si vis audire catellæ,
Narranti brevis est pagina tota mihi.

They are not above a foot, or half a foot long; and alway the lesser the more delicate and precious. Their head like the head of a Mouse, but greater, their snowt sharp, their ears like the ears of a Cony, short legs, little feet, long tail, and white colour, and the hairs about the shoulders longer then ordinary, is most commended. They are of pleasant disposition, and will leap and bite without pinching, and bark prettily; and some of them are taught to stand upright, holding up their fore legs like hands; other to fetch and carry in their mouths, that which is cast unto them.

"There be some wanton women which admit them to their beds, and bring up their young ones in their own bosomes, for they are so tender, that they seldom bring above one at a time, but they lose their life. It was reported that when *Grego* in *Syracuse* was to go from home among other Gossips, she gave her maid charge of two things: one, that she should look to her childe when it cryed; the other, that she should keep the little Dog within doors."—Topsell's *Hist. of Four-footed Beasts* (1607), p. 128, ed. 1658.

Ib. p. 135; from "the Treatise of English Dogs, first of all written in *Latin* by that famous Doctor in Physick *John Cay*[2], and since translated by A[braham] F[leming]," printed in 1576, blk. lr., 4to., 30 leaves.

"Of the delicate, neat, and prety kind of *DOGS* called the *SPANIEL GENTLE, or the COMFORTER;* in Latin, *Melitæus*, or *Fotor.*

"There is, besides those which we have already delivered, another sort of Gentle Dogs in this our *English* soil, but exempted from the order of the residue: the Dogs of this kind doth *Callimachus* call *Melitæos*, of the Island *Melita*, in the sea of Sicily (which at this day is named *Malta*) an Island indeed, famous and renowned with couragious and puissant Souldiers, valiantly fighting under the banner of Christ their unconquerable Captain) where this kind of Dogs had their principal beginning. These dogs are little, prety, proper, and fine, and sought for to satisfie the delicateness of dainty dames and wanton

[1] *Bottolo*, a whelpe, a puppie, a sheapheards cur, a filthie dog. Also as *Bottarissa* [a kinde of lampreie or eele-poute].—*Florio*, 1598. *Fuldarello*, a little prettie dogge, a playing dogge, a puppie sitting vpon a womans cotes.—*Ib.*

[2] Dr John Caius, born 6 Oct. 1510, at Norwich, died 29 July 1573. Physician to Edw. VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. Gonville Hall, Cambridge, enlarged by him, now known as Caius College. His real name was Kaye or Key, which he latinized. Supposed by some, without much probability, to be the Dr Caius of the "Merry Wives of Windsor."—P. A. D.

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womens wils, instruments of folly for them to play and dally withal, to trifle away the treasure of time, to withdraw their mindes from more commendable exercises, and to content their corrupted concupiscences with vain disport (a silly shift to shun irksome idleness). These puppies, the smaller they be, the more pleasure they provoke, as more meet playfellowes for minsing mistresses to bear in their bosomes, to keep company withal in their Chambers, to succour with sleep in bed, and nourish with meat at bord, to lay in their laps, and lick their lips as they ride in their Waggons: and good reason it should be so, for courseness with fineness hath no fellowship, but featness with neatness hath neighbourhood enough. That plausible proverb verified upon a Tyrant, namely, that he loved his Sow better then his Son, may well be applyed to these kind of people, who delight more in Dogs that are deprived of all possibility of reason, then they do in children that be Capeable of wisdom and judgement. But this abuse peradventure reigneth where there hath been long lack of issue, or else where barrenness is the best blossom of beauty."—*Ib.* p. 135.

(Page 140.) "A start to *out-landish DOGS* in this conclusion, not impertinent to the Authors purpose.

"Use and custome hath entertained other Dogs of an Out-landish kind, but a few, and the same being of a pretty bigness, I mean Island[1] Dogs, curled and rough all over, which by reason of the length of their hair, make shew neither of face nor of body: And yet these Curs, forsooth, because they are so strange, are greatly set by, esteemed, taken up, and many times in the room of the Spaniel gentle or comforter. The nature of men is so moved, nay, rather maryed to novelties without all reason, wit, judgement, or perseverance, *Eromen allotrias*, paroromen suggeneis

Out-landish toys we take with delight,
Things of our own Nation we have in despight.

Which fault remaineth not in us concerning Dogs only, but for Artificers also. And why? it is manifest that we disdain and contemn our own Work-men, be they never so skilful, be they never so cunning, be they never so excellent. A beggerly Beast brought out of barbarous borders, from the uttermost Countreys Northward, &c., we stare at, we gaze at, we muse, we marvail at, like an Ass of *Cumanum*, like *Thales* with the brazen shanks, like the man in the Moon.

[1] Iceland dogs, like our Skye terriers now.—F. "*Pistol.* Pish for thee, Iceland dog! thou prick-ear'd cur of Iceland! (*Island* Ff. *Iseland* Qq.)—*Henry V.*, II. i. 44. See notes on this passage in Var. ed. 1821."—P. A. D.

Sir O. Smallshanks [to his intended]:

You shall have jewels,
A baboon, a parrot, and an *Iceland dog.*—*Ram Alley*, iii. 1.

—would I might be
Like a dog under her table, and serve for a footstool,
So I might have my belly full of that
Her *Island cur* refuses.—Massinger, *Ph. Picture*, V. 1.

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"The which default *Hippocrates* marked when he was alive, as evidently appeareth in the beginning of his Book *Peri Agmon*, so entituled and named.

"And we in our work entituled *De Ephemera Britannica*,[1] to the people of *England* have more plentifully expressed. In this kinde, look which is most blockish, and yet most waspish, the same is most esteemed; and not among Citizens only, and jolly Gentlemen, but among lusty Lords also, and Noblemen."

(Page 142, Jn. Cay, transl. by Abr. Fleming). "Now leaving the surview of hunting and hawking Dogs, it remaineth that we run over the residue, whereof some be called fine Dogs, some course, other some, Mungrels or Rascals. The first is Spaniel gentle, called *Canis Melitæus*, because it is a kinde of dog accepted among Gentils, Nobles, Lords, Ladies, &c., who make much of them, vouchsafing to admit them so far into their company, that they will not only lull them in their laps, but kiss them with their lips, and make them their pretty play-fellows. Such a one was Gorgons little puppy mentioned by *Theocritus* in *Syracuse*, who, taking his journey, straightly charged and commanded his Maid to see to his Dog as charily and warily as to his childe: To call him in always, that he wandred not abroad, as well as to rock the babe asleep, crying in the Cradle. This Pupperly and pleasant Cur, (which some frumpingly tearm Fysting Hound) serves in a manner to no good use, except (as we have made former relation) to succour and strengthen qualing and qualming stomachs, to bewray bawdery, and filthy abhominable lewdness (which a little Dog of this kinde did in *Sicilia*) as *Ælianus* in his 7 Book of Beasts, and 27 Chapter, recordeth." p. 142.

p. 26,. l. 15. *Medusas slater.* When Perseus cut off the head of the Gorgon Medusa, Pegasus sprang from the headless trunk.—S.

p. 27. *Revenge.* "Also an hound is wrathfull and malicious, so that for to awreak himselfe, he biteth oft the stone that is throwen to him; and biteth the stone with great madnesse, that he breaketh his own teeth, and grieueth not the stone, but his owne teeth full sore." 1582. *Batman vppon Bartholome, his Booke* De Proprietatibus Rerum, *Newly corrected*, &c., leaf 355, back, col. 2.

p. 27. *Revenge.* "Where-in they resemble angry Dogges, which byte the stone, not him that throweth it." Lyly's *Euphues*, p. 223, Arber's ed.—S.

p. 28, l. 16. *the fruitfull horne.* The horn of the goat Amaltheia who suckled the infant Zeus, called cornucopia, the horn of plenty.—S.

p. 28 (32), l. 19. *Halcyon daies.* "This very bird so notable is little bigger than a sparrow: for the more part of her pennage, blew, intermingled yet among with white and purple feathers, having a thin smal neck and long withall.—It is a very great chance to see one of these Halcyones, & never are they seen but about the setting of the star Virgiliæ, [i. the Broodhen] or els neere Mid-summer or Mid-winter:

[1] This work ought to be Englisht and reprinted.

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for otherwhiles they will flie about a ship, but soone are they gone again and hidden. They lay and sit about Mid-winter when daies be shortest: & the time whiles they are broody, is called the Halcyon daies, for during that season the sea is calme and navigable, especially in the coast of Sicilie." Holland's *Pliny*, tom. I., p. 287.—S.

p. 29, l. 1. *Remora.* "¶ Also, kinde of fish hath diuersitie of shape, and of disposition, both in quality & in quantitie. For there is some kinde of great huge fish, with great bodies & huge, as it were mountaines and hills, as Isi[dore] saith: such was the whale that swallowed *Ionas* the Prophet; his wombe was so great that it might be called hell: for the Prophet saith: 'In that wombe of hell he heard me.' And ther be some fish so small, & *that* vnneth they be taken with hooks, as Isi[dore] saith .li. 12. *Afforus* is a little fish; & for littleness, it may not be taken with hooks: and there it is said *that Enchirius* is a fish vnneth halfe a foote long, and hath that name, of *Herendo*, cleauing: for though he be full little of body, nevertheles he is most of vertue: for he cleaueth to *the* ship, & holdeth it still steadfastly in the sea, as though the ship were on grounde therein. Though windes blowe, and waues arise strongly, and woode stormes, that ships may not mooue neyther passe. And that Fish holdeth not still the shippe by any craft, but onely by cleauing to *the* ship. Latines call this fish *Moron.* For by strength he maketh the ship to stand, as it is said.

"(Addition. As touching this strange fish, whose smalnesse, with his vertue of staieng ships, doth passe mans reason: the Grecians cal *Ethneis*, of the Latines *Remora*, because she doth stay ships. *Opianus* and *Aelian* write, that he delighteth most in *the* high seas: he is of length a cubit, that is, halfe a yard, of a browne coulour, like vnto an Eele: diuerse opinions are of this fish, but all authours agree *that*, for a manifest truth, such a kind ther is, whereof one of these Fish[es] stayed the Galley of *Caius Cæsar*. *Plinie* meruailing, sayth: 'O straunge and wonderfull thing! that, all the windes blowing, and the most furious tempests raging, notwithstanding the violence of the same, yet doth this small Fish holde steadie the ship whereto he is fastened, so greate is the secrete of nature, by the ordinaunce of God.' Moreouer, by trauailing the coastes of *America*, the later trauailers reporte to haue felt the strength and vertue of the same kinde of fish.)"—1582. Batman vppon Bartholome, his Booke *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, lf. 199, col. 2.

p. 29, (33), l. 1. *Remora.* "But to returne again unto our Stay-Ship Echeneis: Trebius Niger saith it is a foot long, and five fingers thicke, and that oftentimes it stayeth a ship." Holland's *Pliny*, tom. I., p. 249. Pliny says that it stopped Caligula's galley once who "fumed and fared as an Emperour taking great indignation that so small a thing as it should hold him back perforce—notwithstanding there were no fewer than foure hundred lusty men in his galley that laboured at the ore all that ever they could to the contrary—it resembled for all the world a snaile of the greatest making." *Ib.* tom. II., p. 426.—S.

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p. 30 (36), l. 9. *Terminus.* "When the temple of Jupiter was to be built on the Capitoline hill, the other deities allowed their shrines to be removed to make room, but Terminus the boundary god refused to yield." Ovid, *Fasti*, II., 667-70.—S.

p. 33 (40), l. 17. Rev. xxi. 27.—S.

p. 39, l. 6. *Crane carrying a stone in its bill.* Mr P. A. Daniel refers to Lyly's *Euphues*, p. 216, 416, of Arber's reprint. "What I haue done, was onely to keep my selfe from sleepe, as the Crane doth the stone in hir foote; and I would also, with the same Crane, I had been silent, *holding a stone in my mouth.*"—p. 216. "The tongue of a louer should be like the poynt in the Diall, which, though it go, none can see it going, or a young tree, which, though it growe, none can see it growing; hauing alwayes *the stone in their mouth which the Cranes vse when they flye ouer mountaines, least they make a noyse.*"—p. 416.

p. 40 (52), l. 1. Daulis in Phocis was the scene of the murder of Itys, for which crime Philomela was turned into a nightingale.—S.

p. 41 (53), l. 8. "Bellerophon tried to ascend to heaven on the back of Pegasus, but the winged horse threw him." *Pind. Isth.* 6.—S.

p. 47. *Mr Thomas Valence*, one of the Lincoln's-Inn friends of Lord Chancellor Egerton and Francis Thynne. Mr Martin Doyle, the Steward of Lincoln's Inn, has kindly searcht the entry-books of the Inn for me, and says: "I find the name of 'Thomas Vallence' (so spelt) as admitted of the Society on the 4th of March, 2 Eliz. [A.D. 1560]. The entry is on p. 256 of the Black Book No. 4. His manucaptors were Thomas Wotton and Thomas Morgan.

"In the Admission Book No. 1, on p. 4, and again on p. 45, there is the signature of 'Thomas Valence' written with one *l* only."

In Stow's Survey of London (ed. Strype), vol. i., p. 734, under the heading *Monuments*, in the Parish Church of St Dunstan's in the West, is

"In obitum Thomæ Valentis, Lincolniensis Hospitii Socii. Qui obiit 23 die Decemb. Anno 1601, ætatis 78.

A small monument in the east end of the Chancel, north.

Hoc tumulo Thomæ requiescunt ossa Valentis,
Et parvum corpus parvula terra tegit:
Sed mens, quæ melior pars est, expersque sepulchri,
Infima despiciens, sidera celsa colit."

Colonel Chester—my kind helper about Wm Thynne's will, &c.—adds: "This monument also called Valence 'Esquire,' and gave his arms, *viz.* Chequy or and sable, on a chief gules 3 leopards faces fleure or. According to the parish register of St Dunstan, he died at his rooms in Lincoln's Inn, 'lying over the gate.'

"I may add that he was the author of some Latin verses prefixed to Cooper's *Thesaurus*, fol. 1573.

"I have his will—that of Thomas Valence, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq.—dated 14th Sep. 1600, and proved 31 Dec. 1601, by his 'loving good Cousin' John Williams, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and his 'trusty servant' James Marshall of Furnival's Inn, Gent. The only bequest in it is one of 20*s.* to his servant Allan Gilpin; but he explains

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that he had the same day disposed of his estate by a deed of gift, and cites the Indenture tripartite, as between him of the 1st part, his said executors of the 2nd part, and Percival Willoughby of Middleton, co. Warwick, John Southcott of Bulwer, co. Essex, Thomas Denne of Adesham, co. Kent, and Richard Carey of London, Esq., of the 3rd part; and he intimates that his estate is to be disposed of according to the directions therein.

"This Indenture will probably be found among the Rolls in Chancery."

p. 48, l. 15. In the lesser triumph called an ovation the successful general wore the *Corona ovalis*, a crown of myrtle instead of the laurel wreath. There seems to be no authority for an olive crown, but the olive branch was a symbol of peace.—S.

p. 53 (1), l. 1. For the lion as the symbol of Judah, see Gen. xlix. 9.—S.

p. 53 (1), l. 6. The lions in the royal arms and the fleur de lys.—S.

p. 58, l. 17. *trust Ovid.* Thynne perhaps refers to *Art. Amat.* III., 653-6.—S.

p. 62, l. 9. Chaucer's *Hous of Fame.*

> "But as I slept, me mette I was
> Withyn a temple ymade of glas."—S.

p. 62, l. 11. *a glasse in verse.* A satire on contemporary manners, &c., entitled the Steele Glas, published 1576, written by George Gascoigne, ob. 1577.—S.

p. 67 (32), l. 1. "Of all places they [criminals] hold Holborne hill an unfortunate place to ride up. It seems they goe that way unwillingly, for they are drawne. They cannot misse their way to their Journeys end, they are so guarded and guided."—London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quartred into severall Characters, by D. Lupton, 1632.—S.

p. 70 (37). A free translation of an epigram by Sir Thomas More, which will be found in Cayley's *Memoirs of Sir Thomas More*, vol. II., p. 325. Thynne has added the retort of the discourteous knight.—S.

p. 72 (42), l. 3. *carding*, playing at cards. Compare the possible sense of 'carded' in 1 *Hen. IV.*, III. ii. 62, "carded his state," and Ritson's note thereon:—"*By carding his state*, the king means that his predecessor set his consequence to hazard, played it away (as a man loses his fortune) at *cards*." This is a much disputed passage; see notes in Variorum Sh., ed. 1821.—P. A. D.

p. 77, l. 13. *Cherill.* "*Cherillus*, one no very good Poet, had for every verse well made, a Phillips noble of gold," etc.—Puttenham, Arber's reprint, p. 32.—P. A. D.

'Cherilus, who wrote a poem on the victory of the Athenians over Xerxes, and on the exploits of Alexander the Great. Only 7 of his verses were approved; and for these he received 7 pieces of gold: for every other verse, a buffet.'—B. N.

p. 77, l. 16. *Gouldings learned vewe.* Arthur Golding, a con-

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temporary of Thynne, translated Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, &c., &c., into English. Puttenham (*The Arte of English Poesie*, Arber's ed., p. 75), after mentioning Dr Phaer's Virgil, says, "Since him followed Maister Arthure Golding, who with no lesse commendation turned into English meetre the Metamorphosis of Ovide."

Webbe (*Discourse of English Poetrie*, Arber's ed., p. 51), after criticizing Phaer's Virgil, says, "Master Golding—hath equally deserved commendations for the beautifying of the English speeche."—S.

p. 80, ll. 11—14. The Apostles creed is divided into twelve articles. The youth perhaps means: One twelfth of my creed I have ceased to believe in, He descended into Hell, for if Christ never saw London he never saw hell.—S.

p. 81 (60), l. 7. *Francis George.* A Venetian, the author of a book entitled *Problemata in Sacram Scripturam*, Paris, 1574, the work probably referred to here.

"A Venetian monk, Francis Georgius, published a scheme of blended Cabbalistic and Platonic, or Neo-Platonic philosophy, in 1525." *Hallam's Literature of Europe.*—S.

p. 82 (61), l. 15. *oten ryme.* Pastoral poetry. *Avena*, an oaten straw, was used poetically for the shepherd's reed pipe.—S.

p. 85, l. 43. *Pittacus.* One of the seven wise men of Greece. The maxim is first found in Theognis.—S.

p. 86 (67), l. 6. The *tria verba* were the three words used by the Roman prætor in a civil action, *Do*, *Dico*, *Addico*, the first in granting permission to try the case, the second in giving judgment, the third in assigning the disputed property to one of the litigants. Their application here is not very obvious, but perhaps the gentleman satirized was wont to lay down the law upon all matters under discussion with the solemnity of a Judge.—S.

p. 88 (71). *The Courte and Cuntrey.* Compare the interesting tracts reprinted by Mr W. C. Hazlitt in his Roxburghe-Library *Inedited Tracts*, 1868:—1. 'The English Courtier and the Countrey-gentleman: A pleasaunt and learned Disputation betweene them both: very profitable and necessarie to be read of all Nobilitie and Gentlemen. Wherein is discoursed, what order of lyfe best beseemeth a Gentleman, (as well for education, as the course of his whole life) to make him a person fytte for the publique seruice of his Prince and Countrey'. London, Richard Iones, 1586;—

2. Nicholas Breton's 'The Court and Country, or A Briefe Discourse betweene the Courtier and Country-man; of the Manner, Nature, and Condition of their liues. Dialogue-wise set downe betwixt a Courtier and Country-man. Conteyning many Delectable and Pithy Sayings, worthy Observation. Also, necessary Notes for a Courtier'. London, G. Eld. 1618.

p. 92, l. 9. Ecclesiastes iv. 10.—S.

p. 93, l. 3, 4. *Ivye.* 'Good wine needs no bush.' The 'Ivy-bush' was—I believe is still—the sign of many a tavern.—P. A. D.

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p. 95 (75). In 1594 Ralph Brook, or Brooksmouth, York Herald, published a book entitled, "A Discoverie of certain errors published in print in the much commended Britannia,' in which, besides pointing out errors in the Britannia, he asserted that Camden had obtained much of his material from Leland. Leland had been commissioned by Henry VIII. to make collections for a history and topography of England and Wales, but at his death his unpublished MSS. were dispersed. Thynne here admits that Camden was indebted to these MSS., but urges that by his use of them he rescued Leland's work from oblivion.

"This *Ralph Brooksmouth* as he had wrote a very virulent Book against *Camden*, entitled, *A Discovery of Errors*, and endeavouring therein to charge his *Britannia* with many Errors, especially in Matters of Genealogy and Heraldry; and that since Queen *Elizabeth* had made him *Clarentieux:* So *Camden* modestly, but learnedly, answered that angry Man, and vindicated what he had writ; and set his Answer at the End of an Edition of his *Britannia*, *Anno* .1600. This *Herald* wrote yet another Piece against *Clarencieux*, pretending to a Second Discovery of Errors in his *Britannia*, and in Justification of what he had published before; and that he had stolen from *Leland:* Therein he hath these Words, (the very MS. was very obligingly shewn me by *John Anstis*, Esq; *Garter* King at Arms) viz.:

"His new coated *Britannia*, made and digested of industrious Labours of *John Leyland*, that great Scholar, and painful Searcher of *England's* Antiquities,—as may appear both by the said *Leylands* Six Volumes, written with his own Hand, yet extant in Custody of Mr *Osborne* of the *Exchequer;* as also by the said *Leyland's New-Year's Gift*, dedicated to the same King, annexed to the End of my late *Discovery:* Which Six Books or Volumes were copied out by *John Stow*, and by him sold to this *Learned Man* [*Camden*] for an Annuity of Eight Pounds *per Annum;* which he did pay unto the said *Stowe*, during his Life; as the said *John Stowe* himself, before his Death, confessed to divers Persons of Credit; lamenting the Wrong done to *Leyland*, both by that Learned Man; and also by one *Harrison* of *Wyndesore*, who likewise had robbed *Leyland* of the Islands adjacent to this Realm of *England;* setting them in *Hollingshed*, as his own Travels and Collection, &c. These Lines, reflecting unworthily upon *Stow*, as well as *Camden*, are easily answered; since both do freely acknowledge when they have made use of *Leyland*, by setting his Name in their Margins."

Life of Stow by Strype, prefixed to his edition of Stowe's Survey, p. x—xi.—S.

p. 96, l. 27. "Geber, a native of Harran in Mesopotamia, lived in the 9th century. He wrote several works on the philosopher's stone." D'Herbelot, sub voce *Giaber.*—S.

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INDEX.

8/22 means 'page 8, l. 22'; 64 (27) 1 means 'p. 64, poem 27, l. 1.'

Acheron, 8/22.
Acteons curres, 45/23.
Actius, 2.
Adame, 81 (60), 10.
Adrian, 11/5.
Aetna monte, 66/13.
Aglaia, 14 (13), 13.
Alciat, 3.
Alderman woodcock, 74 (46), 4. The woodcock seems to have been a type of folly. Bewick says that it is easily caught in snares. "O this *woodcock*, what an ass it is."—*Taming of the Shrew*, I. ii. 161.
Amalthea, 28/15; 101.
Amicla, 17/9.
Androgenon, 82 (60), 15.
annoyance, 22 (23), 8, harm.
Antiochus, 2.
Antipater, 86 (67), 13.
Antomedon, 64 (27), 1, Automedon.
Apollo, 30 (35), 9; 37/7; 88 (70), 2, 12, 19.
Arionian dolphins, 50/16.
Aschainus, 5/9, Ascanius.
asured, 38/7, azure.
Athens, 3.

Bacchus, 17 (15), 6, 10, 11, 13, 17, 26; 27 (30), 3; 28 (32), 18.
Bacchus juice, 60 (15), 7, wine.
Bacchus plant, 82 (61), 1, ivy.
basiliske, the, 16/8, 16; 97.
bat, 46 (60), 6. "A Batte, baculum."—Levins, *Man. Voc.*, E. E. T. S.
bate, *sb.* 84/8, debate.
Bavius, 1.
Bayarde, 1.
be, 18/27, by.
bedds, *v. n.* 19 (18), 14.
beforne, 27 (30), 6, before.
Bellepheron, 26 (28), 8, 13, Bellerephon, 41 (53), 1; 103.
Bellerus, 25 (28), 4, Beller, 26 (28), 7.
Bellona, 28/9.
bliste, *p. p.* 86 (67), 3, blest.
blood of earth, 60 (15), 9, water.
boghed, *adj.* 1.
borde, *sb.* 55/16, the table.
bould, be, 88/15, be sure.
bowe, *sb.* 16/20, bough?
bragg, *sb.* 22 (22), 7.
brain sick witts, 14 (12), 20.
brickle, *adj.* 18/2, brittle.
Brooksmouth, Ralph, 106.
Browne, 62 (20), 1.
but to, 53/10, save, except.
Byas, 11/7.

Cambridge, 57 (8), 2.
Camden, 93/7; 95/23; 106.
carke, *v. n.* 90/51, to fret oneself.

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Carons shipp, 7/13.
Catholike, a, 64 (26), 1, 9.
Cerberus, 24/17.
Ceres, 7 (3), 6; 27 (30) 1; 28 (32), 18; 43/9; 97.
Cham, 63 (23), 3, Ham.
Charites, 15/23, the Graces.
Chaucer, 3; 62/10; 71 (38), 6; 77/18; 104.
Cherill, 77/13; 82 (61), 14; 97; 104, Choerilus.
Chimera, the, 26 (28), 10, Chimer, 13, 24.
Christ, 43/18, 24; 63 (24), 1; 80 (58), 14.
Christes undivided coate, 81/14.
chuse, howe maie it, 61/18, how can it be otherwise.
Chyrill. *See* Cherill.
Cithereane Venus, 6 (3), 1.
Cladius Minoes, 3.
Codrus, 1.
colle, *v. a.* 73 (44), 4, to embrace, O. F. acoler.
cooller, *sb.* 17/20, colour.
Corinth, 42 (54), 7.
Corinthes, 25 (28), 5, the Corinthians.
craaking, *adj.* 6/16, creaking.
crag'd, *adj.* 44/36, rocky.
Crisopeia, 53/10; 54/21, 24, 30.
cunning, *adj.* 10 (7), 17, wise.
Cupid, 6 (3), 2; 7 (4), 9, 12, 20, 23; 8 (6), 9; 9/26; 33 (40), 10.
Cupido, 33 (40), 8.
curious, *adj.* 63 (25), 1, painstaking.
curruca, 45 (58), 3, a bird.
cutter of Queen hithe, a, 76/8.

Damasco, 25 (27), 1.
Dame Lais, 59 (13), 1.
Daphne, 85/12.
Daulian Philomell, 40 (52), 1; 103.
David, 92/10.
Dedalan bees, 49/47.
Dedalus pitt, 93/9, the Labyrinth.
Democrites, 49/53.
depainted, *p. p.* 10 (7), 24.
Deucalion, 39 (50), 2.
Diana, 46 (61), 1; Diane, 9 (6), 15.
Dianiane dogge, 27 (31), 1; 101.
Dictinian Diana, 8 (6), 1.
difficults, *sb.* 27 (30), 8, knotty points.
dispence, *sb.* 67 (32), 16, outlay.
Douai, 57 (8), 2.

Egerton, Sir Thomas, 1.
eise, *sb.* 9/21, ease.
Eldrington, 94/1.
Elios, 19 (18), 10, Helios.
endenteth with his feete, 55/25, walks on his heels?
Endore phytonesse, 95/1, pythoness.
Eneas, 5/5, 12, 27.
England, 80/2; 95/7.
entreate, *v. a.* 95/28, write, treat of.
enure, *v. a.* 14/23. "Fare il callo. Fare la piega: to make a habit, to *enure*."—1598; Florio.
Ephereian Lais, 41 (54), 2. Ephyra was another name for Corinth.
Ephrosine, 14 (13), 19.
Epidaure, 16 (14), 1, 7, 11.
Ethnicks, 11/1, 13; 81 (59), 11, heathen.
Euphemen, 34 (41), 4, 7, 9.
Eurinome, 14/2.
Europa, 85 (66), 7.

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extremities, *sb.* 47/19, extravagance.

Fames horse, 26/22.
faulting, *adj.* 78 (54), 4, defaulting.
fellowe like, *adj.* 33/4, as a comrade.
fett, *v. a.* 7/18, fetch.
ffee, *sb.* 68 (33), 1, fief.
filius ante patrem, 86 (67), 9, a herb.
Flaccus. *See* Horace.
fleete, *v. n.* 9/8, to flit.
flienge, *pres. p.* 9/21, fleeing.
flitt, *v. a.* 12 (10), 22, to abandon.
force, *sb.* 55/31, effect.
forcinge, not, *pres. p.* 77 (52), 4, not caring.
for why, 86 (68), 9, wherefore.
Francis George, 81 (60), 7, 13; 105.
frise, *v. n.* 7 (3), 8, freeze.
frise clothed frut, 43 (56), 4.
frowinced, *adj.* 42 (54), 9, wrinkled.
fyle, *v. a.* 65/18, to defile.

Ganymede, 29 (34), 3; 36 (45), 4, 7.
Garrett, 75 (47), 15.
Gascoigne, 62/11; 104.
Gebers cooke, 96/27; 106.
glasse perspective, *sb.* 62 (21), 4, a telescope.
glose, *v. n.* 90/46, to flatter.
glosinge, *adj.* 89/23, flattering.
glose, *v. a.* 13/24, to gloss or comment.
Gorgon, the, 60 (17), 4.
Gorgon horse, 17/15, Pegasus.
Goulding, 77/16; 104.
Greece, 5/2.
Gretiane, 17/2.
guelye, *adj.* 38/5, red, from gules.

Halcyon daies, 28 (32), 19; 101.
halse, *v. a.* 85 (66), 9, to embrace.
halsing, *pres. p.* 14/12. A.S. *hals*, the neck.
hante, *v. a.* 90/79, to haunt, frequent.
Heliotropium, 19/2, 9.
Hercules, 24/1, 27.
Herseus, 85/13, Herse.
heste, *sb.* 77 (51), 5, command. A.S. *hæs*.
heysuge, 45 (58), 4, hedge-sparrow.
hier, *sb.* 22 (22), 3, rental; derived from hiring out or letting his land.
Holborne hill, 67/1; 104.
Homer, 57 (9), 5.
Horace, 1; 41 (52), 12; 82 (61), 11.
hornifie, *v. a.* 86/18, to cuckold.
Hunslowe downe, 80 (58), 3, Hounslow Heath, Middlesex.

Iacchus, 7 (3), 6.
India, 19/1.
Ingland. *See* England.
inures. *See* enure.
Italians, the, 82 (60), 12.
itterating, in, gerund, 3, in repeating. "This is the very cause why we *iterate* the Psalms oftner than any other part of Scripture besides.'—Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.*, bk V., p. 238, ed. 1676.

Jack, 76 (49), 1.
Jesse, 53 (1), 3.
Jewes, the, 43/15, 25.
John, 73 (43), 1.
John, St, 92/29.

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Jove, 14/2; 16 (15), 2; 29 (34), 4, 13; 30 (36), 11; 32 (38), 1, 23; 32 (39), 1; 33 (40), 7; 36 (45), 4; 40 (51), 2; 43 (56), 1; 43 (57), 1; 46 (61), 10; 58/13; 60 (16) 3; 61 (18), 2, 9; 81 (60), 9; 85 (66), 6.

Jove his swayne, 40 (50), 10, the eagle.

joyce, *sb.* 27 (30), 4, juice.

Judea, 53 (1), 1; 104, Judah.

Juno, 26 (29), 11; 43 (57), 3.

Juvenall, 1.

Kate, 72 (42), 1.

keepe, take noe k. of, *v. a.* 91/88, take no heed of.

kinde, *sb.* 12 (10), 22; 15/13; 32/10; 83 (64), 3; 85 (66), 8, nature.

leaste, *conj.* 42 (53), 13, unless, except.

Leucosia, 44/16.

Ligia, 44/15.

lins, *v. n.* 73 (43), 6, ceases. See index to *The Times' Whistle*, E. E. T. S., *s. v.* Linne.

Lisander, 2.

London, 80 (58), 10.

losse, *adj.* 12/6, loose.

Lucas Contiles, 3.

Lucifer, 33 (40), 15.

lune, *sb.* 92/26, Luna, i. e. silver.

Mars, 28/21; 53/17; 54 (3), 3; 85 (66), 8, 9.

Mars his blowe, 16/9.

Martine, Martinus, 71 (39), 1, 2, 5.

Maya, 85/14.

maye game, a, 61 (19), 5.

meane, the, 41 (52), 6, moderation.

meane, *sb.* 54/26, help. "I pray you be my *mean* To bring me where to speak with Madam Silvia."—*T. Gent. of V.*, I. iv. 13—14.

Medusa, 26/15; 101.

Meering, 61 (19), 1.

melitane dogge, the, 23 (25), 1; 98.

Mercurie, 8 (5), 2; 15/43; 22/16; 37/18, 23; 85/13.

Mercurie, *sb.* 92/26, quicksilver.

messe, *sb.* 67/1, a party. "A *mess* of Russians left us but of late."—*Love's Labour Lost*, V. ii. 361.

Metamorphoses, the, of Ovid referred to, 86 (68), 2.

Mevius, 1.

mich, 21/21, much.

Minerve, dissyllable, 22/15, Minerva, 37/24; 40/6; 53/17.

Momus, 6/12; 71/11.

mongers, 67/1, traders. A.S. *mangere.*

Moses, 81 (60), 1.

mowes, *v. n.* 69/18, makes faces. Fr. *moue.*

Myrtilus, 21 (21), 1, 16.

Nero, 5/20.

Nestor, 7/20.

note, *v. a.* 44/34, denote.

orient, most, *adj.* 16/6, luxuriant?

Ovid, 58/17; 82/9; 86 (68), 1; 104.

Oxford, 57 (8), 2.

Pallas, 26 (29), 9; 32/9, 23; 40/6; 48/19.

parasite smell-feast, the, 58 (11), 5.

Paris, 26/1.

Paris [the city], 57 (8), 2.

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Parthenos, 44/15.
Paulus Jovius, 3.
Pawle [St], 60 (16), 5.
Pegase, Pegas, dissyllables, 16 (15), 4; 26/19.
Pegasus, 26 (28), 14.
Pegasine horse, 17/25.
Penelope, 49/10.
Perithous, 77/20.
Perseus, 1, Persius the satirist.
Perseus. *See* Pretus.
Perseus, 60 (17), 2.
Peter, St, 86 (68), 9, 23.
peyse, *sb.* 27 (30), 9, poise, balance.
Phebee, 46 (61), 8, the moon.
Phœbus or Phebus, 8 (6), 2; 19/5, 14; 29 (35), 2; 37 (47), 2; 49/47; 85/10.
Phœbus fier, 21 (22), 1, the sun.
Philopolites, 93/13, loving one's fellow-citizens.
Pitacus, 85/43; 105.
pluritane, a, 59 (13), 4.
Pluto, 11/15; 21 (20), 13; 28/1, 13; 71 (40), 3, 8.
Polipus, 39/7, a fish.
port, 90/68, bearing, behaviour.
portrait, *v. a.* 93/14, portray. "I labour to *pourtraict* in Arthure, before he was king, the image of a brave knight."—Preface to the *Fairie Queene*.
presse, *sb.* 91/89, crowd.
preste, *adj.* 84/34, ready.
Pretus, 25 (28), 1; 41 (53), 3.
Priam, 5/4.
Prometheus, 32 (39), 3.
Protestant, a, 64 (26), 1.
Proteus, 34 (42), 2, 13.

quintessence, 67 (32), 14. "Essentia Quinta [with Chymists], quintessence, i. e. the 5th essence, a medicine made of the most powerfully working and acting particles of its ingredients."—*Bailey's Dict.*, Vol. II.

raughte, *p. p.* 7 (4), 10, seized. See *Hen. VI.*, pt. 2, II. iii. 43.
rede, *sb.* 21 (20), 13, counsel.
Remora, 29 (33), 1; 102, a fish.
retayne, *v. n.* 53/10, be a follower of. "To *Reteyne* to one, attingere ad aliquem."—*Levins.*
ride, *v. a.* 90/47, deride.
ridinge rime, 77/15.
ripier, *sb.* 76 (49), 2, a hawker of fish. Spelman says the name is derived from the basket in which the fish is brought to market, anglice, a ripp.
roaging beggar, the, 58 (11), 4.
Romans, the, 48/15.
Rose, the, within Newgate, 75/1, a tavern.
rosiall faces, 14/7.

Salamanca, 57 (8), 1.
Sardanapalus, 12/5.
Satan, 81/13.
Satans gayle [jail], 11/19.
Saturn, 29/11; 43 (57), 1; 85 (66), 1.
Saturns cursed starr, 61/7.
sawes, *sb.* 56 (5), 7, sayings.
Saxons, the, 81 (59), 1.
Scilla, Scylla, or Silla, 1, Sulla.
Scismatikes referred to, 81 (59), 6.
seche, *v. a.* 16 (14), 2, seek.
Seneca, 12 (11), 1.
Sisiphus, 96/23.
sister twinned, *adj.* 14/8.
shadowes, *v. n.* 84/10, forebodes?
shamefastnes, 84/26, modesty.

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skande, *p. p.* 81 (60), 11, understood.
slater, *sb.* 26/15, slaughter.
Smirnians, the, 10 (7), 17.
Socrates, 13/1.
Sol, *sb.* 92/26, gold.
Solomon, 94/2, 7.
Spencer, 71 (38), 1.
springes, *sb.* 22 (23), 7, weeds.
sprite, 81 (60), 1, inspiration.
sprite, 95/3, ghost.
squamous, *adj.* 44/7, scaly.
stickler, *sb.* 84/8. A stickler interposed between combatants, who had fought long enough, with a stick. The word occurs in *Troilus and Cressida*, V. viii. 18.
Strymonian cranes, 39 (50), 1.
Stukelie, 71 (40), 1, 7.
Synon, 5/1.
Syrens, the, 43 (57), 4, 6, 24, 27, 30, 37.

Talmud, the, referred to, 82 (60), 13.
Taurus hill, 39 (50), 5.
Telemachus, 49/8.
terene, *adj.* 24/23, earthly.
Terminus, 30 (36), 3, 9; 103.
Tetragramaton, 93/35. The four letters of the name Jehovah in Hebrew.
Thalia, 14 (13), 17.
Thesius, 77/20.
Thetis bedd, 18/11, the sea.
th'ye, 83 (62), 7, the eye.
Tiberius, 10/2.
Tibullus, 82 (61), 12.
Topas, Sir, 3, 77/15; 82 (61), 14.
Troy, 5/3, 12, 29.
Tullie, 36 (46), 6.

Ulisses, 49/9.
ure, *sb.* 28 (31), 20; 62 (21), 1, use.

Valence, Mr Thomas, 47 (63), 1; 103.
vawted, *adj.* 38/10, vaulted.
vegitive, *adj.* 42 (52), 6, vegetable.
Venus, 6/7, 15; 7 (4), 10; 12/12; 14/3; 26 (29), 7; 54 (3), 1; 85 (66), 9; 94/11.
Venus bande, 12/18, Venus's fetters.
Venus squire, 93/2, Bacchus.
vilde, *p. p.* 30 (35), 7, reviled.
Virgill, 1, 82/8.
Vulcan, 32/7; 41 (51), 2.

wales, 5/3, walls.
Will, 76/3, 13.
Willford, 73 (44), 1.
Windsore, 80/1.
wynne, *v. n.* 71 (39), 3, ween, think.

Zoilus, 71/10.

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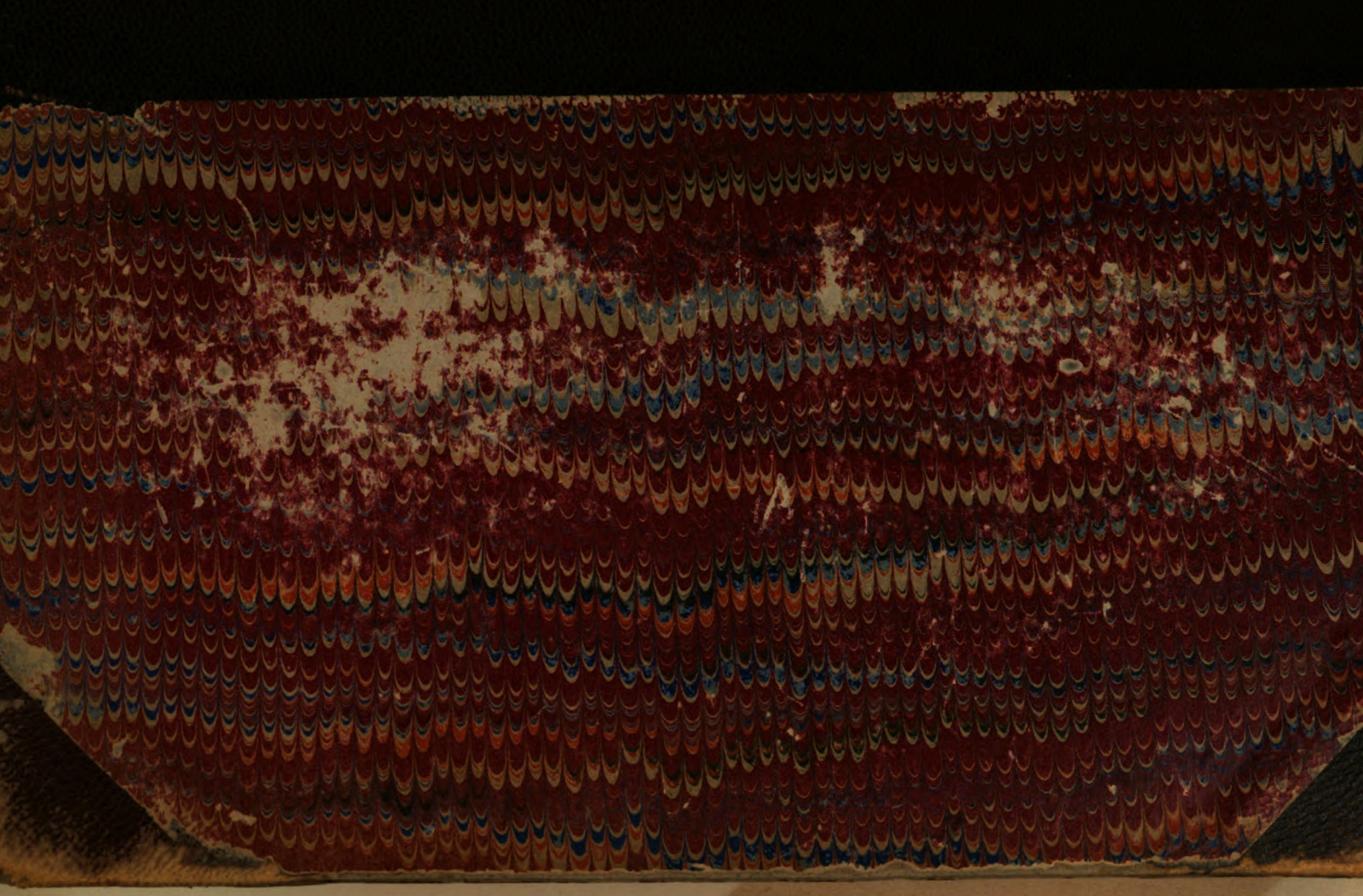
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